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BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

ANIMALS OF NO IMPORTANCE.
THE INDIAN CROW: HIS BOOK.
BOMBAY DUCKS.
BIRDS OF THE PLAINS.
INDIAN BIRDS.
JUNGLE FOLK.
GLIMPSES OF INDIAN BIRDS.
BIRDS OF THE INDIAN HILLS.
A BIRD CALENDAR FOR NORTHERN INDIA.
IN THE DAYS OF THE COMPANY.
A HANDBOOK TO THE ENGLISH PRE-MUTINY RECORDS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.
BIRDS OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

In collaboration with Frank Finn.

THE MAKING OF SPECIES.

THE BODLEY HEAD

BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA

BY DOUGLAS DEWAR

WITH EIGHTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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Some of the chapters which compose this book have appeared in the *Pioneer* and the *Empress*.

The author takes this opportunity of thanking the editors of those papers for permission to republish the articles in question.

BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA

BYGONE DAYS IN INDIA

I

TO INDIA VIA THE RED SEA IN 1837

IN these days of high fares and slow and overcrowded steamers it is interesting to read the experiences of an Indian official who came out to India by steamer nearly eighty-four years ago. The officer in question is Captain T. Seymour Burt, of the Bengal Engineers. He wrote an account of his journey in the *India Review*. This account was republished in book form in 1840.

If it be true that variety hath charm, Burt must have been charmed with his journey, since he transhipped twice between London and Alexandria. He left London on the 13th October, 1837, in the s.s. *Tagus*, belonging to the Peninsula Steam Navigation Company, which has since become the P. and O.

Burt describes the *Tagus* as "a splendid 400-ton steamer of 250 horse-power." He lavishes praise on Captain Symmons, the Commander; Mr. Wymer, the steward; and the crew. "Everything," he writes, "was done on board by the Steamer Company in the most liberal manner. I never, indeed, saw such splendid dinners placed on any table on board ship." Among the

luxuries provided were: "Ginger beer, soda water, ærated or cerated (as some people call it) lemonade, champagne, claret, etc., and a pretty and useful library of elegantly bound books." What, however, took the gilt off the gingerbread was "the extreme confinement or closeness of the cabins; one of them, that in which I had the pleasure of being stowed away, was calculated to contain ten persons, and we actually had in it at one time nine, although the dimensions of the room were only about twelve feet long by eight or nine broad, including the bed places (which were arranged in double tiers) and all, so that four slept on one side and four on the other, and one at the end, where there was also a spare bed occupied by a number of trunks, hat-boxes, towels, etc."

The *Tagus* was able to steam about 10½ knots an hour; she took thirty-six hours to go from London to Falmouth, where she stopped a day in order to pick up the London mails. The journey from Falmouth to Gibraltar lasted eight days, including two hours' stay at Vigo, the same at Oporto, two days at Lisbon and six hours at Cadiz. The fare to Gibraltar was £18 including messing charges. At Gibraltar Burt had to tranship to the *Firefly*, a steamer of the Royal Navy. She mounted two 12-pounder guns. She took passengers. Her cabins were very small, but each contained only one berth. Eight knots was her maximum speed. She left Gibraltar on the evening of the 26th October and reached Malta on the early morning of the 1st November. She was commanded by a lieutenant of the Royal Navy. The charge for the passage was £13, including messing, which was good. Burt had to

wait some time at Malta for another steamer. He could, had he so desired, have travelled from there to Alexandria by a French steamer, but he preferred to wait for an English one because the entertainment on board the French vessel was not so good and the French ship went to Syra in order to pick up passengers from Constantinople, "from whence," says Burt, "you stand the pleasant chance of receiving the plague." At that time there was much fear of plague spreading into Western Europe. Burt writes: "The quarantine house is a curious place at Malta. People in pratique (or quarantine) are kept on one side of the suite of rooms with two walls separating them from those who wish to converse with them from the other side, and if money or other articles have to be passed from the parties under quarantine, it must first be thrown into basins or jars of water lying conveniently by, before it can be touched by the other party." In those days the slumbers of the people of Valetta were, Burt tells us, disturbed by the tolling of bells all night. Bell-tolling at night was a common form of penance; the greater the offence the more times had the bell to be tolled. Burt strongly disapproved of the greater part of the community almost losing their hearing merely because "these rascals have taken it into their heads to confess their sins, preparatory to the commission of others more heinous, perhaps, than the former."

On the 17th November Burt steamed from Valetta on the *Volcano*, a Government vessel commanded by a lieutenant of the Royal Navy. He was not at all satisfied with the catering on that ship. "The table," he writes, "was very scantily supplied with dishes and also with wine after dinner, the coffee being introduced much too

soon." The weather was rough, and Burt spent four and a half uncomfortable days on the *Volcano.*

At Alexandria there was an hotel under Italian management, but Burt could not stay there more than a few hours without fear of losing the steamer at Suez. He engaged an Arab, who consented, for the sum of 15 dollars, to serve him and another man during the journey across the desert. At Alexandria Burt was able to procure at exorbitant prices the necessaries for the journey—crockery, cutlery, food, drink and a blanket (with pockets in it to hold drinks and biscuits) to be slung over the camel.

He spent that night in a country boat passing up the Mahmoudi Canal, and transferred himself and his belongings next morning into a Nile boat which he hired for the purpose. He arrived at Cairo on the fifth morning after leaving Alexandria. "It may seem strange to notice," he writes, "that although the nights were so extremely cold I was so dreadfully annoyed all night by fleas, small bugs and little ants that I could get but little sleep until I was worn-out with vexation and fatigue; I was obliged to keep on all my clothes and kid gloves well buttoned over my hands and wrists, cover up my face, and render the way as impervious to the intruders as I could. In addition to this, mosquitoes buzzed in delightful harmony with the squeaking of some rats which inhabited the sides and bottom, of the boat which contained us."

At Cairo Burt repaired to Hill's Hotel, then he went to see Colonel Campbell, the agent of the British Government at Grand Cairo, for whom Burt had despatches. Thomas Waghorn, who did so much to open up the

overland route to India, was at that time Campbell's assistant. Burt dined with Mr. and Mrs. Waghorn, the latter being the only English lady in Cairo at the time. Meanwhile, Waghorn had arranged for camels, and had replenished Burt's commissariat. The camels were sent on ahead outside the city gates. As soon as dinner was over Burt and his companion set off on horses to join the camels, accompanied by Waghorn's assistant, who took leave of them as soon as they mounted the riding camels. Waghorn's charge for the assistance he had given, and for the tiffin, including beer, wine and fruit, was one guinea, which Burt characterizes as very moderate. The cortège left Cairo at 4.30 p.m. Its pace across the desert was determined by that of the baggage camels, which was less than three miles an hour. They proceeded without a halt until 9 p.m. Burt has little good to say of the camel as a means of conveyance for human beings. "Of all the joggings and joltings and shakings and jerkings I ever met with," he writes, "that was confessedly the very worst, beating hollow all the diligences of France, the hacks and the public cabriolets (genteelly called cabs) of London, the elephants of India, the wagons of the Cape of Good Hope, the donkeys of Egypt, the caballos of Madeira, the ponies of Rio Janeiro, the pony chaises of St. Helena, the travelling wagon (miscalled carriage) of Spain, and I had almost forgotten the delightful jolting fiacre or calesa of Portugal; these were, I can assure my readers, for I have tried them all (but one), perfect 'aramgarhs' or resting-places compared with the continued and combined motion of the camel.

"A slight stitch in the side is the first indication of the

delight which one is about to undergo, and it must be a very extraordinary stitch in time which will save nine more worse stitches, for they augment gradually and gradually until the patient (who is *obliged* to be patient) is absolutely worn-out, and can with difficulty keep his eyes open, with still more difficulty can he help falling off his horse (I meant to say camel), and in fact he wishes at times he were dead rather than alive to undergo so protracted (for the time of transit seems an age) a period of suffering. I tried to relieve my pains by changing my position, first, by putting one leg round the camel's hump so as to sit like a lady on a side-saddle, then by placing the other leg on the reverse side, again by sitting sideways so as to gain ground to the front by a lateral motion like that of a crab, now by turning round altogether so as to have my back to the horses, or to face the rear, and, lastly, I would go half round on the other tack, so as to complete the whole revolution in less than the four and twenty hours, and in each position trying the varieties of it. This will convey a tolerable idea that if I were not actually sitting upon thorns, I was certainly not reclining upon velvet or a bed of roses."

Burt, it must be remembered, was travelling very shortly after the opening of the Red Sea route. Later, passengers were conveyed across the desert in "donkey chairs"—elongated conveyances consisting of two very long poles to which a chair was fastened in the middle with a donkey between them in front and one behind Still later, when some sort of a road was made, springless vans, drawn by relays of horses, were substituted for the donkey chairs.

Soon after sunset the temperature fell and the riders

began to feel the cold. They then got off and walked and rode again when they became heated, and so on until a halt was called to rest both the men and the camels. Then, writes Burt, the blanket purchased at Alexandria " was laid on the ground, a carpet bag formed my pillow, an umbrella my ceiling, and a pair of good double blankets and a cloak my bed covering, and in five minutes I was fast asleep."

At half-past five, after changing their linen and washing their faces and hands, the travellers resumed the march and moved onwards until 8.30, when they halted for breakfast, having accomplished half the journey.

" The breakfast," says Burt, " consisted *not* of tea, toast, fresh salmon, eggs, ham, coffee, milk and cream, muffins, crumpets, rolls, etc., all of which things crowded then to my imagination, although my appetite on account of fatigue was not very keen, but simply of a slice of cold roast beef and some bread, and a stoup or two of cold port wine and water; a cigar, a delightful revivifier, completed the revel." Had they continued the march after breakfast without a halt they would have reached Suez at 10 p.m. that night, when they would have found the gates of the town closed against them; they therefore called a halt at 5 p.m. and consumed dinner, which consisted of tough beef and nasty beer. At half-past six the journey was resumed and Burt walked until nine, when he mounted the camel and rode till midnight, at which hour they halted and slept for three hours and a half. They reached Suez some time before the gates were open. On entering the town Burt lost no time in repairing to the house of the Company's agent, where he found the Captain of the *Hugh Lindsay* asleep. After

a wash, Burt, six other passengers, and the Captain sat down to breakfast together. As soon as this repast was over they rowed, or rather were poled, in a country boat to the steamer which was anchored two or three miles from the shore. The journey from Alexandria to Suez cost Burt £12.

The *Hugh Lindsay* was the first steamer to navigate the Red Sea. She was captained by Commander John Wilson of the Indian Navy. Her burthen was 411 tons, and she had two 80 h.-p. engines. She was a comfortable vessel from the point of view of the passenger, her cabins being treble the size of those of the Mediterranean steamers and her saloon twice the size. She was armed with two 12-pounders and two 9-pounders. She steamed from Suez at 1.30 p.m. on the 29th November and entered Bombay harbour early on the morning of the 31st December; thus the voyage lasted thirty-two days. Much of this time was taken up in coaling. Two days were spent in taking coals on board at each of the following places: Jeddah, Mocha and Maculla. Burt gives the following description of the refreshing and cleansing process of coaling on the *Hugh Lindsay*: "*Premièrement*, the hatches are opened, but every door, window, port-hole, jalousie, rat-hole or crevice, is carefully shut, closed and stopped up; this with the thermometer at any degree you like, from 70° to 100°, depending on the weather and the time of the year, 70° being the minimum; this, I say, must be very agreeable. Next you have a large sail triced upright in front of the cabin door, and windows, so as not only hermetically to exclude the air, but also to shut out the light of day, which can then only enter at the side port windows, which are also closed. It

would scarcely be believed that with all these means of attempted separation we could not keep the small particles of dust from entering the cabins . . . but such was the fact; the result was that we appeared in a short time more like a set of chimney sweeps than white linen gentlemen; the sight of coal heavers in London will convey a pretty fair idea of our blanched appearance. At Jeddah we obviated this inconvenience by going on shore to the agent's house, and so we did at Mocha during the day-time, but at night we were obliged to return to the ship, because no beds were procurable, and at this time the coal work was suspended until break of day in the morning when we were re-coated with jet dust. But at the next halting place, Maculla, where we were obliged to put up with this inconvenience all day and night, too, I might have exclaimed, "'Oh! if there be an elysium on earth it is this,' as Tom Moore has it."

As Burt remarks, the *Hugh Lindsay* was fitter for the Thames or the Medway than for the Indian Ocean. She was constructed to carry only five and a half days' supply of coal. Thus she had to take on board fuel three times between Suez and Bombay, and at the last coaling station she had to lay in a double supply to suffice for the eleven days' voyage across the Indian Ocean. In consequence half her supply of coal for this part of the journey had to be stored in all manner of places. When thus loaded, she drew 13½ feet of water instead of 11 feet —her normal draught when fully laden. When she was thus overloaded her speed was much reduced, and it was dangerous to steam her in rough weather. On the occasion on which Burt was on board, the *Hugh Lindsay* met with a strong head wind shortly after leaving

Maculla, and in consequence she had to make for the shore and anchor under its lee for two days until the wind dropped.

The later vessels on this line—the *Semiramis*, the *Berenice*, and the *Zenobia*—having more accommodation for coal, were able to make the trip from Suez to Bombay in eighteen days.

Burt tells us that he was very glad to reach Bombay, but he has nothing but praise for the skipper of the *Hugh Lindsay*, who conducted the table with a great degree of liberality, supplying the best of wines and eatables, "some of an expensive nature being potted and preserved and brought from Europe."

"I spent my time as pleasantly as I could," writes Burt. "The greatest pleasure I experienced was in paying to the purser of the steamer the trifling sum of £80, or 800 rupees, for my passage from Suez to Bombay. Hear that, reader, and say if the demand be not preposterous, shameful! The whole charge from London to Alexandria is only £43 for a distance of 2800 miles. Why, then, should an additional 200 miles make the Indian authorities charge their unfortunate passengers, who cannot afford to throw away money like dirt, £37 in excess to the £43?" The charges round the Cape were also exceedingly high. It is thus evident that the Englishman who has to go to and from India has always been considered fair game by shipowners, be they officials or non-officials.

II

FROM BOMBAY TO SIMLA BY PALANQUIN IN 1838

THERE exist many written accounts of palanquin journeys in India. Most of them form dull reading nowadays because the writers omitted to insert the little details that are sought after by readers of later generations. There is, fortunately, an exception, the account written by Captain T. Seymour Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, of a journey from Bombay to Simla in 1838. This description was intended to be of practical use to others who might have to take similar trips, and in consequence it is to-day of more value than the ordinary narrative.

Burt took four years' furlough with effect from the 18th January, 1834; he was accordingly due back to work on the 18th January, 1838. As we have seen, he came out by the Red Sea and reached Bombay on the 31st December, 1837. He was on the Company's Bengal Establishment. It was therefore necessary for him to be in some part of the Bengal Presidency at the expiry of his leave. When he first reached Bombay he was under the impression that Mhow in Malwa was the nearest place to Bombay in the Senior Presidency. As Mhow was 369 miles from Bombay, it could not be reached in less than twelve days, even assuming that

the palanquin bearers covered 30 miles a day—a high average in the hilly country to be traversed. Burt accordingly lost no time in making the necessary preparations for the trip; while so engaged he was informed by an officer of the Bengal Army who had just arrived at Bombay, that in order to get into Bengal within the expiry of his leave, it was necessary for him to go only so far as Sandwa, 270 miles from Bombay. This was good news, more especially as on account of delays in securing palki-bearers he was not able to leave Bombay before the 9th January.

Burt's first step was to purchase a palanquin, which then had to be overhauled and made comfortable for the long journey. As he travelled without a servant, he had a bolt fixed to the inside of one pair of doors and a padlock to the outside of the other; thus, when he had occasion to leave the palanquin for any purpose, he was able to lock up his valuables in it.

He had made a linen cloth sufficiently large to reach all round and down to the lowest part of the palanquin to keep out the sun by day and the wind by night. He had a watch-pocket attached to the side of the palki near his head. Over the drawer in front two iron hoops were fixed, one to carry a bottle of brandy and the other a flask of water. Between these a net was spread in which small articles could be put without fear of their falling on to the occupant of the palki. Blinds, which could be drawn to keep out the sun's rays, were attached to the front windows. Finally, in order to strengthen the palanquin, Burt had a couple of stout bamboos tied on to the bottom, one near the pair of right legs and the other near the left pair.

His baggage included an oil lamp for heating purposes, two small saucepans, a covered tin for milk, two pewter plates, a cup and saucer, an egg-cup, two spoons, a knife and fork, a small metal wash-hand basin, a miniature candlestick, some wax candles, a bottle of lamp oil, two of brandy, two of sherry, one of water, some small bottles of beer, a supply of cigars, a brace of loaded pistols, a penknife, a pair of scissors, writing paper, a steel pen, pencils, an instantaneous light box, a night-cap, a clock, a pair of blankets, a plentiful supply of small change, a looking-glass, soap, and of course clothes, linen, boots, etc. Last, but not least, was a stock of cotton wool to be put in his ears so that his slumbers might not be disturbed by the singing of the bearers.

Considerable ingenuity had to be displayed in stowing away all the above impedimenta. Most of these were placed in six tin petarahs or boxes.

"These," writes Burt, "should be longitudinal, with padlocks attached to them. They should be fitted into wooden frames, otherwise the ropes attached to the bangy will wear or tear through the tin, or cause it to split by reason of the weight of the things inside." The bangy was a stiff piece of split bamboo, carried on a man's shoulder; from the extremities of the pole the petarahs were suspended by stout ropes.

"There is one caution," writes Burt, "particularly to be attended to, with respect to the way of packing up the linen, which consists in wrapping it up in some common or coarsish and valueless cloth in order to protect it from the effect of continued attrition against the bottom, top, and sides of the tin petarahs or trunks, which not only rub it into holes, but render it as black as ink at

its surface, or points of contact with the metal. There is another way of preventing this blackening by having the whole of the interior painted white or any other colour."

As the officer's cocked hat could not well go into a petarah, it was carried on the roof of the palanquin.

There being no regular dâk running between Bombay and Mhow, Burt engaged at Bombay a set of sixteen bearers to carry him the whole way to Mhow. For these he had to apply to the police. After some delay the men were secured and a written agreement was drawn up and signed by Burt and the *mukaddam* of bearers in the presence of the police babu and a *karani*, or Eurasian clerk. The sum that had to be paid for the distance of 390 miles was Rs.360, half of which was given in advance. This worked out at five and a half months' wages for each man. Burt stigmatizes it as "a rascally charge," but says he, "What could I do or say against it?" This was exactly double the charge for a similar distance in Bengal. He spoke to the Governor of Bombay—Sir Robert Grant—about these high charges; the latter, however, said that he was afraid that any attempt to induce these men to lower their charges would end in failure. The Governor was probably right. The palki-bearers, or *hamals* as they were called on the Bombay side, formed a regular trade union. Lady Falkland, the wife of a subsequent Governor, elicited much interesting information from one of her hamals, which she has introduced into her book entitled *Chow Chow*.

The profession was hereditary. "We begin to learn the work about seventeen," says the hamal. "An old hand is placed in front and a young one behind under a

pole with heavy stones at each end, slung with rope, to give the weight of the palanquin, and so the step is learnt; some take to it immediately, others are very long in learning. Of the six hamals under the poles of a palki, the leader and the last of all are of most consequence, for, if not steady, able and quick, they may throw down the rest. We size ourselves with care before starting and make up for the difference in height by pads on the shoulders. . . . We can go eighteen kos (of two miles each) at one run. The strong and healthy among our sons are always selected for palki work. . . . Palki employment is considered creditable, and is always gladly embraced by the stout sons, who say that hamals eat well, and can dress and live respectably. . . . Noon and eight are our feeding hours, three times a day if rich. . . . We sing because it lightens the burden and shortens the road; we forget the distance; always improvise the songs according to the circumstances of the road, the weather, the weight, the travellers, or animals we meet, or people or things we all know about at a distance. Some men make quick and amusing observations in their song, the rest answer, as it were, or acknowledge their merit to the others in chorus.

"When very tired, we walk up and down each other's backs, after which we feel greatly refreshed; this is done when the tired man is lying flat on the ground. If a man is too much knocked up to proceed, then the 'set' must at any cost to themselves get another on the road, and sometimes they have to pay a great deal for the assistance they cannot do without. It is a point of credit and character among us that every man shall do his best on the road. I have five fingers on this hand; none of them

are alike ; some long, some short ; it is the same with us all. Some are strong and stout-hearted, others are so in different degrees ; but if every man does his best, whatever that may amount to, we are all satisfied and equally distribute the pay received for the whole set. At first the pole gives pain to the shoulders, but the flesh becomes thickened after a time, and at last quite callous. We sometimes get swollen veins in the legs, but they get well, at least for a time, after bleeding them. We are nearly always well when employed but sicken when idle and nothing to do—no pay, the heart gets sad, and body unwell." As Burt points out, the hamals would persist in calling their stages eighteen kos when they were in reality fifteen. Thirty miles a day was the recognized run.

On the 9th January, having dined at 3 p.m., Burt and his sixteen men set forth with the above-mentioned impedimenta, plus a couple of roast fowls, two or three loaves of bread, some biscuits, pepper, salt, some butter wrapped in plantain leaves and one pound each of tea and sugar.

" My first run," writes Burt, " was from about 5 o'clock at night until 9 o'clock, when the men asked me to allow them to halt a short time to drink some water ; this being granted, after a little while they proposed to move on, and I, nothing loth, agreed to that also. We now started in good earnest, and progressed on till eleven at night, at which period the bearers proposed to stay three or four hours to sleep." The halt was made near a dâk bungalow. This was not used by Burt, who slept in his palanquin. The bungalow, like most of its kind in that part of India, was in a sad state of disrepair.

The next morning the party started off at daybreak and had to be ferried across an arm of the sea at Baraset. After a couple of hours, Burt halted for breakfast, the bearers procuring for him a basin full of water, half a seer of milk, and seven or eight eggs.

"For the information and comfort of those gentlemen," writes Burt, "who would like to have something simple to eat after all their *apparent* stock has vanished, I beg to state that I shall point out the mode I adopted when I undertook to superintend the culinary department, in which I enacted the parts of cook, mussalchi, khitmatgar, sirdar bearer, and half a dozen others at least. In the first place, my pint of water was covered up and placed over the lamp . . . in the apparatus fitted up for the purpose—as soon as it began to boil in I popped the eggs, four at a time, kept them shut up for three and a half or four minutes, until they were ready for eating. Into the same water, which was now boiling, I threw a quantity of souchong, sufficient to afford two good cups of tea, so that with the same water I boiled my eggs and prepared my tea in order to save time. Immediately afterwards the milk was put on to boil in the other tin vessel over the lamp, and by the time I had destroyed the tea, eggs, bread and butter, etc., the milk was getting ready. . . . I then broke up some bread . . . and threw it into the milk, together with a portion of sugar candy."

Burt reached Nasik at 9 p.m. on the 12th January, and stayed in the dâk bungalow there until 2 a.m. the next morning. He reached Mulligaum on the night of the 14th and Dhulia on the evening of the 15th, having covered 204 miles in six days. Thus he averaged 34 miles a day, which, he writes, "is perhaps the utmost

rate that has ever been elicited from sixteen men whilst carrying a palanquin and three bangies through a difficult, jungly, and hilly country, with the cold of the nights and mornings intense. Poor devils. I regretted much to be obliged to urge them on as I did, but the new proverb of '*necessitas non habet legem*' or 'legs' (for lex) admitted of no delay. . . . I will leave the reader to judge whether I did not do as much as lay in my power to relieve them from my weight in the palki when I inform him that I not only wore out a couple of pairs of light boots in the trip by quitting the vehicle every morning and evening in order to take exercise and keep myself warm as well as to afford the bearers every relief within my power, but that I actually lost one of my great toe-nails (*'proh pudor!'*) from walking so much more than I had been accustomed to do—the nail after the lapse of some days separated from the flesh and came off. The pain of this to me was not inconsiderable, and I was obliged to limp along instead of running on the ground as nimbly as the roe. . . . Whenever I arrived at a ghat, I invariably got out of my palki, and walked up it—indeed, it was not only requisite to do so for the relief of the bearers, but also on one's own account, for when the palanquin becomes on account of the slope of the road much out of its horizontal position, it is by no means agreeable to remain in it, the blood rushing to the head with a force in direct proportion to the angle of the slope." Notwithstanding this assistance the *bangyburdars* had, two or three days before reaching Dhulia, to hire coolies to carry their petarahs while they themselves assisted the palki bearers

There being no dâk bungalow at Dhulia, Burt stayed with a Bombay engineer named Graham. Seeing how

" done " his bearers were, he gave them money to buy a sheep and some massala and wine, and told them that they would not move on till the next evening; moreover, he hired a cart at Dhulia to convey the petarahs. This went on ahead. The next afternoon Burt again set forth in the palki " after having first received a refreshment of meat, beer, bread, etc., and a *live* fowl which the stupid khitmatgar had put into the cart instead of a roasted one into the provision basket." Burt did not notice the mistake until the morning, when he came up with the cart, upon which the poor hen was perched. At every jerk, jolt, and shake which the cart gave, the unfortunate fowl, being tied up, bobbed backwards and forwards, half falling, half flying. In consequence Burt gave the bird to the Rawal of Korund, to whom Graham had given him a letter containing directions to pay every attention to the traveller.

Burt writes that from Sougir, 14 miles beyond Dhulia, " it was necessary to take guides to show the road. These guides are exchanged at nearly every village along the route, which is a great nuisance, and these people are now so accustomed to be relieved at each village, however near to their own, that if we wanted them to go beyond the next village they always pretended they did not know the way."

After Korund it was necessary for Burt to take with him a sowar and a foot soldier to protect his belongings. The way lay through " a forest of trees, high and low . . . and very long grass growing in the greatest abundance between the trees. The road was of scarce breadth enough for one cart to pass along, intersected with water-courses, some of which contained water. In all directions

the forest grass was being burned, but it was not dry enough to burn fast. The bearers were obliged from the intenseness of the nocturnal cold to light fires nearly every hour, in order to keep themselves warm, which they could not do by simply carrying the palanquin, and I was very glad to have a warm myself. The mode they adopted was that of setting fire to the long grass, or thorny and prickly bushes which burnt sufficiently well to afford them the requisite degree of heat, after which the fires were put out."

On this march several *chaukis* were passed, at which the foot soldier was regularly relieved by another. "I was surprised to see during the darkness, a dull light oscillating or pendulating to and fro, in front of the station door, and on inquiring what it was I was told that the people in charge of the chokee, who were always on the watch, invariably swung or caused to swing, a stick, at the end of which either a piece of charcoal was fixed or some other substance, in an ignited state. There is a kind of wood I believe which will burn continually, until totally consumed in this manner, and which grows in these forests. The purpose of its ignition, it is stated, is that neither the tiger nor any other wild beast will approach a light, whether of *flame*, or of dull fire, at night, so that by continually moving about the lighted stick the people may consider themselves comparatively, if not quite, safe from the attacks of the bagh, or other animals of the feline species, and as a proof of the general opinion of its efficacy, every dawkwalla, or postman, with his bag of letters, whom I met at night always had a lighted stick in his hand which he swung about right and left, at every step he took."

After leaving this forest the Sindhia Ghat had to be negotiated. This was the fourth ghat "of immense extent" which Burt had ascended since his departure from Bombay. At Sindwa, on top of the ghat he managed to change his mount and so reached Nagalwarra in the Bengal Presidency before 11 p.m. on the 18th January, the last day of his leave. He quitted that place early next morning in order to arrive in time for breakfast at Munlasir, where he was to stay with a friend. He left this place on the 22nd, having substituted coolies for the cart he had engaged at Dhulia, because the Jam Ghat, up which carts could not go, had next to be climbed. Burt reached Mhow on the 23rd, where he remained until the 4th February. Here he discharged his Bombay hamals and afterwards proceeded to Sehore with twelve palki bearers provided by the Commissariat Officer. He reached Sehore on the 12th February, where he stayed with Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson, the Resident. At 9 o'clock in the evening of the 13th February, writes Burt, "I took my leave of the small party assembled there, consisting of an officer and his lady, another visitor, and the host; cannot say much for the perfect sphericity of the billiard balls in this gentleman's house; indeed, I never saw any which appeared so nearly to approach the figure of ellipsoid or solid generated by the rotation of a semi-ellipse round one of its axes. I found it difficult ever to make a hazard with one."

At Bhilsa Burt entered the famine-stricken zone. The famine of 1837–8 was one of the worst that ever afflicted the country. Some idea of the mortality it caused may be gathered from the fact that in one small field at Pillur between Cawnpore and Fattehgarh over

one hundred dead bodies in various states of putrefaction were observed.

From Sehore onwards Burt proceeded in a leisurely fashion, making side excursions in search of ancient native inscriptions, which, from the date of his leaving Sehore until his arrival at Cawnpore, formed the chief object of his "wishes and pursuits." The remainder of his diary is mainly an account of his epigraphic work. He was a regular contributor to the journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

Burt reached Saugor on the 19th February and made that his headquarters until the 3rd March. On leaving Saugor he was accompanied by a mounted soldier, because that part of the country was not in British possession. He was followed everywhere by children crying for money.

Burt reached Hamirpur on the 6th March at 9 a.m., and left that evening for Cawnpore, which was then the largest station in northern India. There he fell ill, and it was not until the 11th April that he departed for Farrukhabad, which he reached two days later. All along the road he saw poor wretches "lying on their backs half dead, dying, or too weak to ask, almost skeletons in fact." He gave small sums of money to all except the fat and sleek. The eagerness with which they received the money was "horrific," and their appeals were heart-rending.

He arrived at Aligarh on the 15th and spent the day there in the theatre, "an old building," he writes, "which is evidently not used at present, a billiard table in it."

Burt reached Delhi on the morning of the 19th April, and left on the evening of the 22nd, arriving at Paniput on the following morning. During the night of the 23rd

he marched to Karnal, which he left on the evening of the 29th, reaching Umballa the following morning. He got to Bahr, at the foot of the hills on the morning of the 1st May. There he left his palanquin and had a jampan or, as he styles the conveyance, a " cháphan or jálphan." Neither of these words occurs in *Hobson Jobson.* In Burt's time the cross bars from which the shafts tied to the chair were suspended had not come into use. Burt describes the conveyance as " a chair placed between two long bamboos tied or connected at both ends and a third or shorter piece of bamboo fixed parallel with the two former, but perpendicularly across the cords which connect them." This is the only mention which the present writer has come across of this third pole. According to Burt, four men hold the machine up and four more at the sides prevent it from falling over. He characterizes it as very light and convenient, but qualifies this with the remark, " I do not consider the jalphan the safest vehicle in the world for travellers, for if either of the front or rear two men fall the machine and its burden must come down also, unless the four side men (two at each) contrive to keep it up, but as their hands only sustain it, and not their shoulders, a cant on one side might send the voyageur to the shades below."

The dandy replaced the jampan only recently, if we may believe the writer to *The Times* of the 17th August, 1879, quoted in *Hobson Jobson.* " The gondola of Simla is the Jampan or jampot as it is sometimes called on the same linguistic principle . . . as that which converts asparagus into sparrow grass. . . . Every lady on the hills keeps her jampan and jampanees . . . just as in the plains she keeps her carriage and footmen."

Burt left Bahr at 5 p.m. on the 1st May and reached the Chambi bungalow three hours later. "The house," he writes, "has no bedstead in it, so that, having left my palanquin and bedding at Bahr, I was necessitated to sleep upon the table, which was rather too short and hard for comfort; however, first laying down my cloak and then myself upon it, I slept most delightfully until sunrise next morning. . . . The bearers wanted to get a charpai or native bedstead for me, but I concluded that I should not be the only occupant of it, so I declined the offer. . . . This bungalow has a chokeydar kept in pay and the place is in tolerable order, but the chairs are wooden-bottomed and from the surface of the table nails stick out in a manner by no means agreeable for a person to sleep upon; how they manage *dinner* there I know not."

"I am not, as I understand, the first person who has slept upon this table, so that it would be as well if a couch for each room were procured and added to the scanty list of furniture."

Burt spent the next night at a bungalow at Sairi, which did boast of a couch. On the following day he reached Simla.

LADY INTERVIEWING HER *DARZI*.

The *darzi* is an Indian tailor who is usually paid by time and engaged by the month. He works in his employer's verandah.

In the past, when European tailors were scarce in India, the *darzi* used to make most of the garments worn by English men and women in India.

The picture is taken from *The European in India*, illustrated by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

This is, as we shall see, a much larger sum than that given in a handbook published 38 years later.

The detail of the necessary servants, according to Hadley, was: Cashier, Rs.20; house steward, Rs.10; marketman, Rs.4; two waiters (generally slaves without wages); cook, Rs.6; mate, Rs.2; two running footmen, Rs.8; messenger, Rs.4; porter at the door, Rs.4; link boy, Rs.4; eight bearers for palanquin, Rs.33; pipe-bearer, Rs.4; woman to clean the house, Rs.4; necessary man, Rs.2; groom, Rs.6; and grass-cutter, Rs.2.

"If," adds Hadley, "he keep a female housekeeper and a carriage his expenses will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (coolies), as everything is carried by hand, at Rs.4 each, monthly. So little are they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street, that an order went out limiting the Commander-in-Chief to fifty coolies, when, in fact, he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number."

According to Busteed, most of the slaves in the service of the English were children of the poor who had been sold by their parents from their inability to support them. Busteed appears to have made a mistake. Nearly all the slaves employed by Europeans as body or personal servants were what were then called Coffrees, that is to say, negroes imported from Mauritius. Slaves, however, formed only a small proportion of the domestic servants. They were rather expensive luxuries: a slave who could cook well would fetch as much as Rs.400, and after purchase the outlay on food and clothing was nearly as high as the wages of the paid servant.

In 1810 appeared *The East India Vade Mecum or Complete Guide to Gentlemen intended for the Civil, Military*

or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company. This is written by Captain Thomas Williamson, who had spent twenty years in India, and is dedicated to the Court of Directors. Williamson also wrote one of the earliest books on sport in India, and a book called *The European in India.* This last was illustrated by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

Williamson's *Vade Mecum* is bound up in two volumes of five hundred pages each. More than one-tenth of the book relates to the voyage round the Cape. As regards outfit, Williamson states that this should include not less than four dozen shirts made of "very fine stout calico"; "about a dozen of the shirts may be of rather superior quality and have frills." An equal number of under-shirts is necessary. These should be made of "chequered calico of a moderate fineness, and if with sleeves reaching to the hips they will serve for sleeping in." Williamson assures us that for wear on board ship nothing can equal pantaloons. "Two or three black velvet stocks made to tie with ribbon will be serviceable, and, as articles in great request abroad, about four dozen of neck handkerchiefs of very fine linen, not calico, should be made up; an equal quantity of a coarser kind may be laid in for underwear." Want of space prevents us from detailing the whole outfit, which is of considerable magnitude, because all artisans in India "expect exorbitant profits to enable their amassing sums wherewith to return to Europe. The materials are likewise much dearer; and many, if not all, of a very inferior quality. Articles of European manufacture, except when the market is absolutely glutted, bear full £80 and occasionally £200 per cent. advance on the prime cost."

The only things in the shape of outfit that could be obtained better and cheaper in India were tablecloths and towels.

Having dealt with outfit, the author gives an outline of those expenses to which every person keeping house, "though in a most retired manner and on the most economical plan, must be subjected." "In doing this," says the writer, "I consider the instructions given for the outfit to have been duly attended to, and that wearing apparel, plate, bedding, blankets, sheets, and pillow-cases have been provided." He further warns us that the following brief catalogue will be found to contain only those conveniences which are indispensable:

	Rs.
One dozen of chairs	48
One dining-table for six	25
Two tepoys (tripods)	7
One writing-table with drawers	25
One bedstead	30
Curtains for ditto, those for the exterior of chinz	20
Inside ditto, of gauze, to keep out mosquitoes	10
Bookcase upon chest of drawers	100
China and glass-ware, say	100
Shades to put over candles, one pair, say	40
(Those with wooden pedestals to be preferred)	
A chillumchi (or metal basin) for washing hands, with its tripod	20
A palanquin and bedding	100
Tablecloths and towels	50
One large and one small satringe (cotton carpet)	35
Various culinary articles, say	40
A variety of small articles in cutlery, etc., say	45
Making in all on a rough estimate	700

In addition to the above, Williamson recommends, as tending to health, a "cheap safe and quiet poney," which should be obtainable, including saddle and bridle, for Rs.250 or 300.

A year's stock of wines, spirits, wax candles, sauces, sugar candy, tea, coffee, saltpetre, and a number of lesser items would come to Rs.600.

It will be noticed that there is no mention of a bath in the above list. The bath tub was not used in those days. The *bhisti* used to pour the contents of his *massak* over his master!

The other annual expenses of a bachelor according to Williamson will be: House rent, £150; servants' wages the same, and £100 for pocket money, and table expenses on a most moderate scale. Hadley puts these last much higher, viz. at over £400 a year.

Williamson gives detailed advice to the Griffen on his first arrival in India. He warns him against the low type of servants styled Rum Johnnies, who will meet him at the landing ghat. He declares that Rum Johnnie is a corruption of *ramzani*—a common name among Mohammedans.

In those days there was no hotel in Calcutta, but numbers of taverns. These were not like taverns in England. "They are," writes Williamson, "either of the first rate, at which public dinners are occasionally given, or they are of that mean description which receive all who have a rupee to spend, under the determination of extracting that rupee in some shape or other. The former class is very confined in numbers, but the latter are abundantly numerous, and may be readily distinguished by the promiscuous company, the shabbiness

of the treatment, and the excess of imposition imposed, especially on novices. . . . The tavern-keeper never fails to enquire whether the gentleman has any friends in town or even in the country. If affirmatively answered, 'mine host' feels himself tolerably secure of his money, but will probably assert that the friend in town is out of the way and will not be back for some days. Should the gentleman be totally destitute of friends, then comes the rich harvest: imposition following imposition swell the bill which, if appearances warrant forbearance, is kept back as long as possible under the pleasing assurance of perfect confidence; but in the end a catalogue of items is produced which never fails to alarm if not to ruin the unsuspecting victim. If, unhappily, the guest should so far lower himself as to associate with the ordinary company of the common drinking-room, he is irretrievably gone. Quarrels, riots, and inebriety must follow, in all probability rendering him subject to the notice of the police. Should his face ever be seen at that office, it would be next to impossible that he should be admitted to any respectable circle. What with lodging, dinners, wines, etc., of the worst description, but all rated at the highest prices, he must be a fortunate wight who escapes under a gold mohur (i.e. two guineas) per day. In general, double that sum is charged, so that a person starts at the rate of £1000 per annum at least. . . . If we add the allurements held out by the sable beauties who will contrive means to retail their charm so long as they think money is to be had, we shall find no trifling expense incurred." Williamson states that taverns can be avoided, "all that is requisite being merely to call at the first office or shop and to enquire for the

residence of the gentleman to whom the letter of introduction may be addressed." He who is not a Company's servant, and is so unfortunate as to possess no letter of introduction, is advised to resort to one of the European shopkeepers in Calcutta, among whom are some most respectable characters: men distinguished for their urbanity, philanthropy and generosity. To one of them "the case should be candidly stated and, in order to inspire confidence, a deposit of money should be made either with them, or at one of the banks. The consequences will be that in a few hours some small tenement will be obtained, either on hire or granted as a temporary accommodation and the whole of the articles really necessary will be provided at some one or other of the auctions which daily take place within the central parts of the town." Having found an habitation the next thing the Griff. had to do was to provide himself with a staff of retainers. Williamson deals most exhaustively with these gentry, devoting 125 pages to them, setting forth the duties of each and his proper wages, and describing the garments he wears. Williamson states that servants, whether of Europeans or natives of consequence, are divided into two classes, nokeron and chaukeron, the former holding important or confidential posts and being exempt from all menial offices.

"Such," writes he, "is the superiority claimed by the nokers that to ask one of them whose chauker he is would be considered a gross insult; the inferior class are, on the other hand, very ready to assume the former designation."

This, doubtless, explains the total disappearance of the word chauker. All our servants are naukers to-day,

although the table attendant is the only one of the old nokers whom we retain in this age of economy and retrenchment.

According to Williamson, nine servants were entitled to be called nokers :

The Banian, or money agent.

The Darogah, or Gomastah, or factor, or superintendent.

The Moonshy, or linguist.

The Jemmadar, or chief of the retinue

The Chobe-dar, or silver-pole bearer.

The Soontah-burdar, or silver-baton bearer.

The Kansamah, or chief table-attendant.

The Sircar, or immediate agent for receipts and payments, and cash keeper.

The Cranny, or clerk, or writer in the office.

All the rest, thirty in number, were chaukers.

It is significant of the manners of that time that the *Vade Mecum*, notwithstanding the fact that it is dedicated to the Court of Directors, gives full details regarding the expenses of keeping an Indian mistress. " In regard to expenses attendant upon concubinage in the East," writes Williamson, " they will depend greatly on the circumstances and the disposition of the gentleman, generally speaking, though after a while the lady commonly gains a kind of ascendancy, and goes beyond those limits, which in almost every case are marked out by previous contract. A certain sum to be paid monthly ; the pay of two, or three, female attendants ; an allowance for beetle, tobacco (it is very rarely they chew it), shoes, clothes, and *gynahs* (i.e. gold and silver ornaments) are articles in almost every capitulation !

Taking a broad outline we may put down the whole at about 40 rupees monthly."

Williamson defends the practice. According to him, "the number of European women to be found in Bengal and its dependencies cannot amount to two hundred and fifty, while the European male inhabitants of respectability, including military officers, may be taken at about four thousand."

The *Vade Mecum* gives information on all manner of subjects, including the building of bungalows, various kinds of timber, Indian manners and customs, the manufacture of salt, the taming of elephants and even the permanent settlement! This being so, it is somewhat surprising to find how little the author has to say on the subject of the preservation of health.

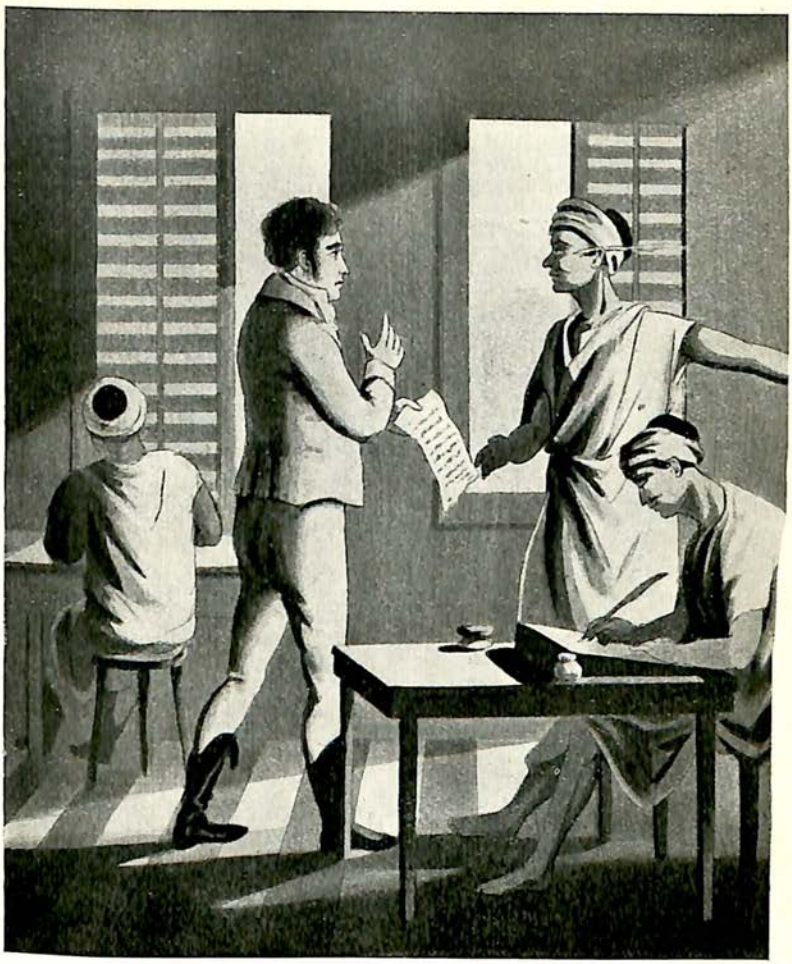
His remarks on this barely cover two pages. He cautions the reader against eating too much cocoa-nut or jack-fruit, or indeed large quantities of any ripe fruit, and drinking spirits of inferior quality, and warns him of the danger of going out of doors in the sun unless protected by an umbrella. He is a strong advocate of sleeping out of doors and of enjoying as much fresh air as possible.

"The greatest attention," he writes, "is requisite to ærate every apartment in a proper manner daily; without that precaution all the aids of *shampoing*, of mosquito curtains, water-pots, bathing, etc., will be of little avail, as fevers and obstructions of the liver invariably follow, whenever the atmosphere within a chamber is allowed to become foul: I know not indeed anything more weakening or more destructive to the constitution than sleeping in one that is defective in point of ventila-

SIRCAR PRESENTING AN ACCOUNT TO HIS MASTER.

The picture also shows two crannies or clerks seated. Notice that they have left their shoes outside the house; in India it is disrespectful for a servant to appear with head bare or with shoes on.

The illustration is from a sketch by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.



tion, and to continue in such after being in any degree indisposed is little less than absolute insanity ! "

The shampooing mentioned above consists in " a gentle pressure of the feet and legs, as also of the arms and hands, or occasionally of the body also, between the hands of the operator, who passes either slowly, or rather rapidly, according to the fancy of his, or her, master's, from one part to another."

Williamson declares that it cannot be doubted that considerable relief is experienced from shampooing where people are tired or languid, but he warns the Griffen against it, saying that it should be considered as one of " those luxuries which, like the hookah, the snuff-box, brandy-bottle, etc., become so habitual as to plunge us into indescribable uneasiness whenever they may be out of our reach." " It is," he says, " prudent to avoid being shampoed, except when a kind of restlessness or watchfulness is induced by excess of any description."

Williamson's *Vade Mecum* remained the standard work on India for many years. In 1825 it was rewritten by Dr. J. B. Gilchrist and published under the title of *The General East India Guide and Vade Mecum.* The advertisement of this work informs us that it is— " much improved from the work of the late Captain Williamson, being a condensed compilation of his and various other publications, and the result of personal observation." To the general reader, Gilchrist's is not nearly so interesting a publication as Williamson's.

In the list of Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen, publishers of Leadenhall Street, announcing the appearance of Gilchrist's Guide, Hadley's Grammar is still advertised,

also what was a later imitation of Hadley by an anonymous writer, bearing the title "*The British-Indian Monitor, or the Anti-jargonist, Stranger's Guide, Oriental Linguist,* and various other works, compressed into a series of portable volumes on the Hindoostanee Language, with considerable information respecting Eastern Tongues, Manners, Customs, etc., etc., etc., 2 vols., 8vo." All this for the sum of £4.

Gilchrist's work seems to have been the standard book on India until 1844, when J. H. Stocqueler, a former editor of the Calcutta *Englishman,* brought out *The Handbook of India: A Guide to the Stranger and Traveller, and a Companion to the Resident.*

Before describing the work, mention must be made of *The East Indian Voyager,* by Miss Emma Roberts, and of Parbury's *Handbook for Egypt and India,* which appeared in 1841.

The former, as the title indicates, deals chiefly with the voyage out to India, round the Cape, and is a guide to intending travellers. In addition to this, Miss Roberts tells each class of the Company's servants something about their prospects in India. Parbury's treatise, although it reached a second edition in 1842, has no right to the title "handbook." The author was a globe-trotter, and he gives the narrative of his journey from Calcutta to England "by way of the River Ganges, the North-West of Hindoostan, the Himalayas, the Rivers Sutledge and Indus, Bombay and Egypt." This account is followed by an appendix of 250 pages, of which the author is a mere compiler.

In addition to information to passengers to India via the Cape and by the Red Sea, the appendix contains

brief accounts of life at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, (the last being taken almost verbatim from Mendes' *Stranger's Guide*, a Hindustani vocabulary, prepared by a "gentleman who has been many years resident in India"), a discourse on "the Egyptian dialects of the Arabic language," compiled by an Oriental scholar, remarks on diseases incidental to Europeans in India—a compilation from Annesley's work—and distance tables. Most of this could have been written by any intelligent person who had never been out of England.

Stocqueler's *Handbook of India* passed through several editions, and may be fairly described as a painstaking and accurate account of India in the forties by one who knew his subject. The book, however, affords dull reading, and is written in the approved "journalese" of the day.

The following is a typical specimen of Stocqueler's style: "The interiors of the private houses are all so alike in the arrangement of the rooms, the verandahs, and as regards the furnishing, that he who has seen two or three of the medium size and style will find scarcely any variety in an inspection of the rest, though great novelty, and, to the unaccustomed eye, discomfort and even the uneasiness arising from a mixture of the fine and the shabby, when his mind's eye contrasts what is before him with the elegance and comfort of the home domestic establishment. The houses of richer classes may contain better chairs and couches than those of the less affluent citizens—mahogany instead of the imitative jackwood or blackwood, or the lighter-coloured but polishable and well-grained teak; and the punkas of Dives may be more liberally equipped than those of the

poorer householder, while the silk or damask of his couches may parade it somewhat more fancifully than the chintz of the inferior. The wall shades, too, may be better . . . by having drops to them, or double branches, and richer chandeliers may aid in illuminating the rooms of the wealthy inhabitant, but *the way of doing the thing is the same in all*, and the want of what, in England, is considered perfect elegance, is as observable in Government House as in the more limited mansion of him whose monthly income may vary from five hundred to one thousand of the Company's rupees.

"Works of art, as the term is properly understood in Europe, can scarcely be said to exist in the Eastern cities. The prints which are hung up to hide the nakedness of the 'whitened walls' are seldom of the higher class of engravings, the best impressions not always finding their way out to India; and of pieces of *vertu*, ornaments in bronze or alabaster, even beautiful Japanware, there is a plentiful lack, though the best which are on the spot appear in the eyes of the possessors as good as the best which are anywhere else.

"Every person who keeps house has his service of plate—more or less extensive according to his station; but well-cleaned plate is a thing not to be met with among high or low . . . servants have not the method of imparting to it that brilliancy of polish which causes it in England to add so greatly to the beauty of a dinner-table; and the same remark is applicable to the glassware, which, generally speaking, is in all respects inferior to that in use in England."

The opening of what used erroneously to be called the overland route to India. i.e. the route via the Red

Sea, caused the appearance of several Guides to those proceeding to India by this route. In 1845 Captain James Barber, a partner in a shipping agency, published *The Overland Guide-book: a complete vade mecum for the Overland Traveller.* This book deals almost exclusively with the journey and with accommodation in the various steamers. It is of interest in that it contains plans of some of the earliest steamers that conveyed passengers to Egypt.

Another of these overland guides, which was published in 1847, under the title *Real Life in India,* gives also some account of existence in India. To quote from the sub-title, which in those days was a feature of most books, the work embraces "a view of the requirements of individuals appointed to any branch of the Indian public service; the methods of proceeding to India, and the course of life in different parts of the country." From a literary point of view, this is a very poor production, and, except on the subject of the journey to India, gives but scant information. According to this book, no matter what route was taken to Egypt, the cost of the overland journey to India amounted to, roughly, £150. The actual passage money was from London to

	Bombay.	Madras.	Calcutta.
For a gentleman	£107	£118	£127
For a lady.....	£112	£127	£136

The steamers of the P. and O. line ran only to Calcutta and Madras. Passengers for Bombay had to tranship either at Suez or Aden on to one of the East India Company's steamers.

The book tells us that "the lowest imaginable scale of gentlemanlike existence in India entails an expenditure of Rs.155 *per mensem*, made up as follows:

	Rs.
Rent of a small house, or share of one	30
Meat, bread, vegetables, tea, coffee, butter, spices	30
Servants, including a cook, khitmutgar or boy, dhobee, bheestee (or water-carrier), and maley or massalchee (sweeper, lamplighter, etc.)	20
Keep of a pony and horsekeeper's wages	20
Wine, beer and brandy	20
Clothes	15
Sundries	20

Allowing for the great fall in the standard of living that was occasioned by Bentinck's measures and the failure of many of the big Calcutta houses of business, it is to be feared that the man who expected to get along in India on Rs.155 *per mensem* must have suffered grievous disappointment.

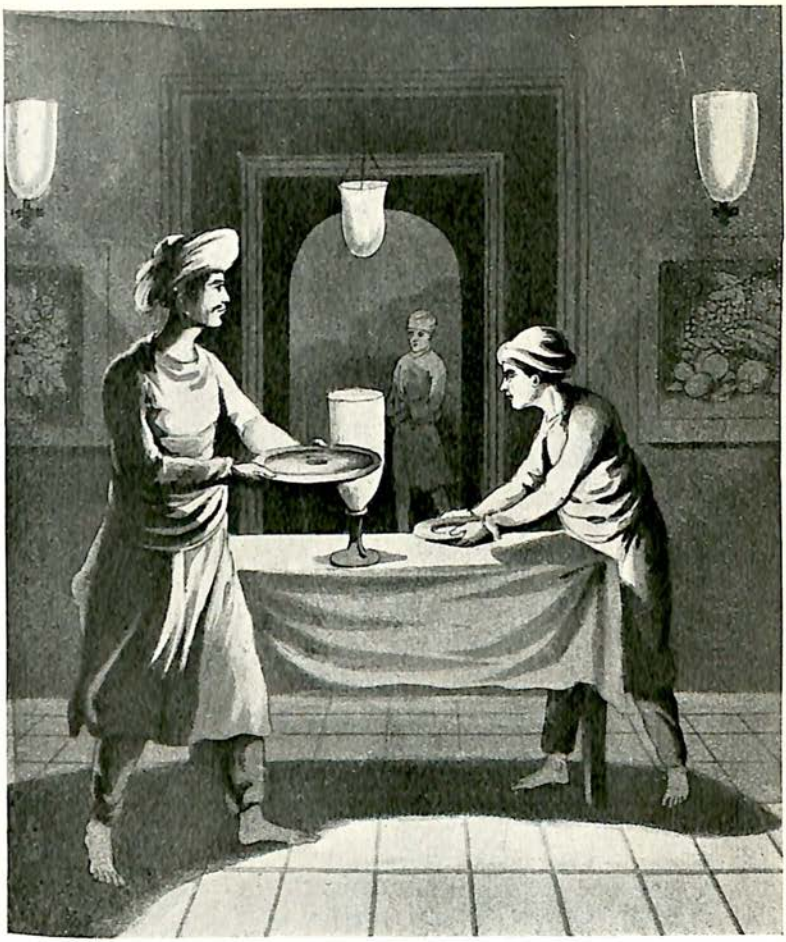
The only amusing chapter in this very dull book is that entitled "Ladies in India." From this is culled the following gem: "Blessed with refined tastes and industrious habits, and assisted by the conversation of intelligent friends, the morning and evening promenade, occasional soirées, and the companionship of her husband and family (if she is blessed with such things), the demon of *ennui* may be conquered and health effectually preserved. Without these resources the position of an European lady in India is not to be coveted. Yielding to the influences of climate, and the evil suggestion of domestics who are ever about her person, she falls a

KHITMUTGARS OR BOYS LAYING THE TABLE.

Notice that they are barefooted, having left their shoes outside the house.

Notice also the lights protected from insects and draught by glass shades.

The illustration is from a sketch by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.



victim to indolent habits and coarse indulgences—the sylph-like form and delicate features which distinguished the youth of her arrival are rapidly exchanged for an exterior of which obesity and swarthiness are prominent, and the bottle and *hookah* become frequent and offensive companions."

IV

DAVID PRICE AND HIS FRIENDS

THAT three of the best-known Oriental scholars of the Bombay Presidency should have been officers in the Bombay Army, have obtained their commissions within a few months of one another, and been fast friends, is proof of the advantages of fellowship in the East. The three men in question are Colonel Joseph Boden, who founded the Boden Professorship of Sanscrit at Oxford, Major David Price, the writer of many books, among which the best known are *A Chronological Retrospect or Memoir of the Principal Events of Mahomedan History*, and *An Essay towards the History of Arabia*, and Major Edward Moor, whose *Hindu Pantheon* is a classic. It is almost certain that one of the three influenced the others, and induced them to devote their leisure to Oriental studies. This one was probably Moor. It was certainly not Price, for he tells us that during the years 1785 and 1786 he spent at Surat, which was "the very best school for Persian and Hindustany," and where he had ample leisure, he merely passed "a slight examination in Hindustani to enable him to receive what has long been discontinued—the monthly sum of thirty rupees, then called language money." "That I should," he writes, "have neglected an opportunity so precious was to me

at a subsequent period the subject of bitter and unavailing regret." Moor, being the leader of this trio of Orientalists, should be given the pride of place in this account, but a later chronicler has to cut his literary coat according to the cloth available. Price is the only one of the three who has written an autobiography, and he must perforce be the central figure in the present essay, but fortunately there are many allusions to the other two in his biography. Price died in 1835 before this was published, and it was edited by Moor, Price's greatest friend then living, to whom the autobiography was dedicated. Boden died more than twenty years before Price.

The three friends did not belong to the same regiment. Moor was in the First Bombay Native Infantry, Price in the Seventh, and Boden in the Ninth. As, however, there was much active service in the Bombay Presidency during the closing years of the eighteenth century, the three friends did a good deal of campaigning together. All three left India in 1803 and sailed to England in the *St. Vincent.* All three retired in 1807, Boden as a Lieutenant-Colonel, and the others as Majors.

Price was born in 1762. His father was a clergyman in Wales. While David was at Cambridge, his father died, and this deprived Price of the means of continuing his studies at the University. Price then fell upon evil times, and in 1780 enlisted as a recruit in the army of the East India Company under a fictitious name. At Gravesend, Price was fortunate enough to attract the notice of the Chaplain to the Company's shipping, who promised to secure a cadetship for him. This was arranged, and Price went out to India in the *Essex*, on which vessel he was admitted to the midshipmen's mess. The voyage

was not uneventful. The *Essex* took part in the skirmish between the squadrons of Admiral Suffrein and Commodore Johnson off the Island of St. Jago. On the arrival of the *Essex* at Fort St. George, Price put up at "Richard's Hotel on the outskirts of that arid plain, which then extended from the glacis of the Fort to the suburbs known by the designation of the Black Town." Price was satisfied with everything at the hotel except the charge, which was one pagoda (8s.) a day. As his pay was one rupee (2s. 6d.) he speedily moved to a kind of eating-house in the vicinity of Popham Street. This was managed by a Frenchman who had previously been cook to Sir Robert Harland. After a short stay at Madras, Price re-embarked in the *Essex* to proceed to the force under Sir Hector Munro, which was to attack the Dutch settlement of Negapatam. When Price first saw Sir Hector the latter was wearing a dusky red Bengal silk coat and a straw sombrero covered with green silk. At that time the officers of the Madras army were in the habit of assuming strange attire.

After the successful termination of the expedition, Price sailed in the *Essex* to Bombay. A severe storm was encountered, in which the ship was dismasted and nearly foundered. Price landed in Bombay in April, 1782. There he stayed for a few days in Macfarlane's Hotel, which was "luxurious and expensive," the charge for a bottle of claret being 12s. 6d. Price's biography shows that there were good hotels at both Madras and Bombay in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. After this the hotels became very bad, and few people in the first half of the nineteenth century have a good word to say for them. Price was appointed ensign

in November, 1782, and was attached to the 2nd Bombay N.I., which regiment, under the command of Captain Daniel Carpenter, campaigned for eighteen months successfully against Tippu Sultan in the district of Karwar. On his return to Bombay, Price had five thousand rupees of pay due to him. This was paid him not in cash, but in the form of a transfer, a kind of promissory note, which carried interest at 9 per cent. As Price, like other officers, needed cash to pay his servants' wages and make purchases, he was under the necessity of selling his transfer, which fetched 33 per cent; thus, instead of five thousand rupees, Price received sixteen hundred and fifty. He was more fortunate than his friend Moor, who could only realize 28 rupees per cent for his transfer. After remaining a short time at Bombay, Price's regiment was sent to Surat, which was at that time considered the best station in the Presidency. "It furnished," writes Price, "the most perfect picture of an Oriental city of any that I have ever seen. Taking the line of the exterior wall, it fills a circumference of at least seven miles; the space between the two walls, the *jahaunpunnah*, which might strictly be called the suburbs, being, however, but lightly built upon. The streets are generally narrow, crooked, and irregular . . . the population cannot have been much less than 250,000. The British residents, then pretty numerous, dwelt partly in the castle and partly in Mogal houses in the town. Many of the civil servants lived in a pleasant line of buildings erected by themselves, extending from the English Chief's residence on the river along the inside of the exterior wall and from the Mecca gate to the southward."

Mr. Day, the Chief, entertained very liberally. "So far as amusement was concerned," writes Price, "time did not bear too heavily on us, for we had in addition to our own particular convivial meetings, clubs and nautches. Neither were our sporting excursions in the rich and fertile vicinity without attraction, and many a joyous week have I spent in the distant gardens and sugar plantations, with three or four friends, all in exuberant health and equal to the greatest fatigue. We chased the wild hog and antelope and occasionally waded middle deep on the clayey banks of the river after wild duck and other water fowl in great variety." The season of 1786 was gayer than the preceding one, masques and fancy balls being introduced, "which were conducted with a taste and splendour not easily surpassed."

Early in 1787, the regiment returned to Bombay, where Price shared with a friend the upper part of a small house in Love Lane, the lower floor of which was occupied by Monsieur Hauton, a respectable friseur. At that time the hot springs at Visrebhoy were a favourite resort of Europeans, during what was known as the fair season—October to June. Price and his friend went there, and they amused themselves with shooting peafowl and hyænas. At the conclusion of the rainy season of 1787 Price and many other officers availed themselves of the general permission to erect temporary bungalows on the western Esplanade. This is the earliest mention the present writer has come across of these temporary bungalows, which for many years were a feature of Bombay. In the winter of 1788 Price lived in "a very confined ground-floor house in what was then called 'military square.'" Price obtained his Lieutenant's

commission on the 2nd February, 1784. At the close of November of that year three new battalions were raised —the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth, and Price was attached to the Ninth and was sent to Tellicherry, where he met for the first time both Moor and Boden. Moor was the adjutant of the Ninth Battalion.

In 1789 Price returned to Bombay, and he tells us that it was in the rains of that year that he first devoted his serious attention to the study of Persian, and this, more immediately at the earnest recommendation of his " brave and lamented friend, Lieutenant Hugh Ross." Price asserts that the best method of making the idioms of the language familiar to the student is, after translating a passage into English, to translate it immediately back to the original, and this repeatedly until one entirely corresponds with the other. He does not think that the Gulistan is the best book to be placed in the hands of the beginner, and would prefer the enlightened Abul Fazl's story of Akbar, or Ferishtah's *History of the Deccan.*

When the second war with Tippu Sultan broke out in 1790, Price and Boden applied to be removed to Captain Little's battalion, the Eighth, and their requests were granted. Moor joined the Grenadier Company of his regiment. Thus all three of the friends took part in that war. Little's Bombay Brigade joined a Maharatta Army under Parasram Bhau, which was intended to co-operate with Cornwallis's army. The fortress of Dharwar held up the Bhau's army for six months. During the siege Price distinguished himself. On the 7th February, 1791, he was severely wounded in the course of an unsuccessful assault. On the 2nd March it became

necessary to amputate Price's right leg above the knee. "The operation," he writes, "was certainly appalling, but not by any means so unendurable as I had apprehended. At the same time it is probable that the quantity of opium which I had been taking considerably deadened the sensation of pain."

This operation ended Price's military ambitions. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to travel, he set out in a palanquin to Bombay. At Poona, however, Sir Charles Malet, the Resident, offered Price the post of provisional subaltern to his Escort until the circumstances of the service should otherwise dispose of him. Price describes Malet as "the most accomplished practical Persian scholar I have ever known." He spent a happy time among the Persian manuscripts in Malet's library, having engaged a Persian munshi. Price's friend Ross was killed in action near Cajnour on the 29th December, 1791. This deprived the world of a man who, as an Orientalist, would have rivalled Price, Moor and Boden. Ross bequeathed to Price his collection of Persian manuscripts and his *Richardson's Dictionary*.

In 1798 Price was appointed garrison quartermaster at Surat, but immediately on arriving at that station he was made officer of the guard of Mr. Griffith, the Chief at Surat—the second civil functionary on the western side of India. Price held this appointment for about three years. While he continued to reside with Griffith, Price had ample leisure for his studies in Persian, but the limited state of his income prevented him purchasing many a rich and valuable manuscript. In 1794 Price became Judge-Advocate at Bombay, Boden having declined the post. Meanwhile Moor had gone home, and

he returned to India in 1795 with a wife. In 1798 Price acted for a short time as Persian translator to Griffith while the latter was acting Governor of Bombay. Price lost this appointment as soon as Jonathan Duncan took over the Governorship.

In the following year Price became the Persian translator to the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army that took the field against Tippu Sultan. Price was present at the siege of Seringapatam. On the advice of Moor he canvassed for and obtained the appointment of one of the prize agents to the Bombay Army.

" The wealth of the palace," writes Price, " which was sufficiently dazzling to the eyes of many who were more habituated to the sight of hoarded treasures than we were, seemed at the moment in specie and jewels and bullion, and bales of costly stuff, to surpass all estimate.

" Some conception may, perhaps, be formed of the magnificent expectations which we were led to entertain, when I state that on the first day on which we were occupied in taking charge of the specie we counted not less than twelve hundred thousand sultauny pagodas, which, at four rupees to the sultauny, was equivalent with 48 lakhs of rupees, or nearly half a million sterling. . . . The prize agents, seven in number, were therefore perhaps well warranted in congratulating each other on being each £10,000 richer than in the morning of that day.

" In the meantime, although the whole of the palace had been consigned to the safeguard of a detachment of Europeans ever since the evening of the storm, the Towshah Khaunah, or baggage depot, in the S.W. angle of the first court was discovered in the morning of the 5th to have been the scene of indiscriminate plunder.

What led to this discovery was a train of pagodas, strewn from the door of the depot along the floor of the W. Verandah to the entrance of the court, or quadrangle. The question agitated was whether this unfortunate spoliation had taken place prior to or after the period at which the palace had been placed under safeguard. But the loss to the captors in general could never be ascertained, while little advantage accrued to the soldier. Nevertheless some conception can be formed on the subject when it is stated that Dr. Mein, a surgeon in the army, purchased from a soldier of the 74th Regiment, for a mere trifle, two pairs of solid gold bangles, or bracelets, set with diamonds, the least costly of which was valued by a Hyderabad jeweller at 80,000 sultaunies; or 3,20,000 rupees; at the lowest exchange, equivalent with £32,000. The other pair he declared to be of such superlative value that he could not pretend to express any opinion.

"It was, moreover, notorious that a quantity of the most valuable pearls was to be bought in the bazaars from the soldiery for a bottle of spirits."

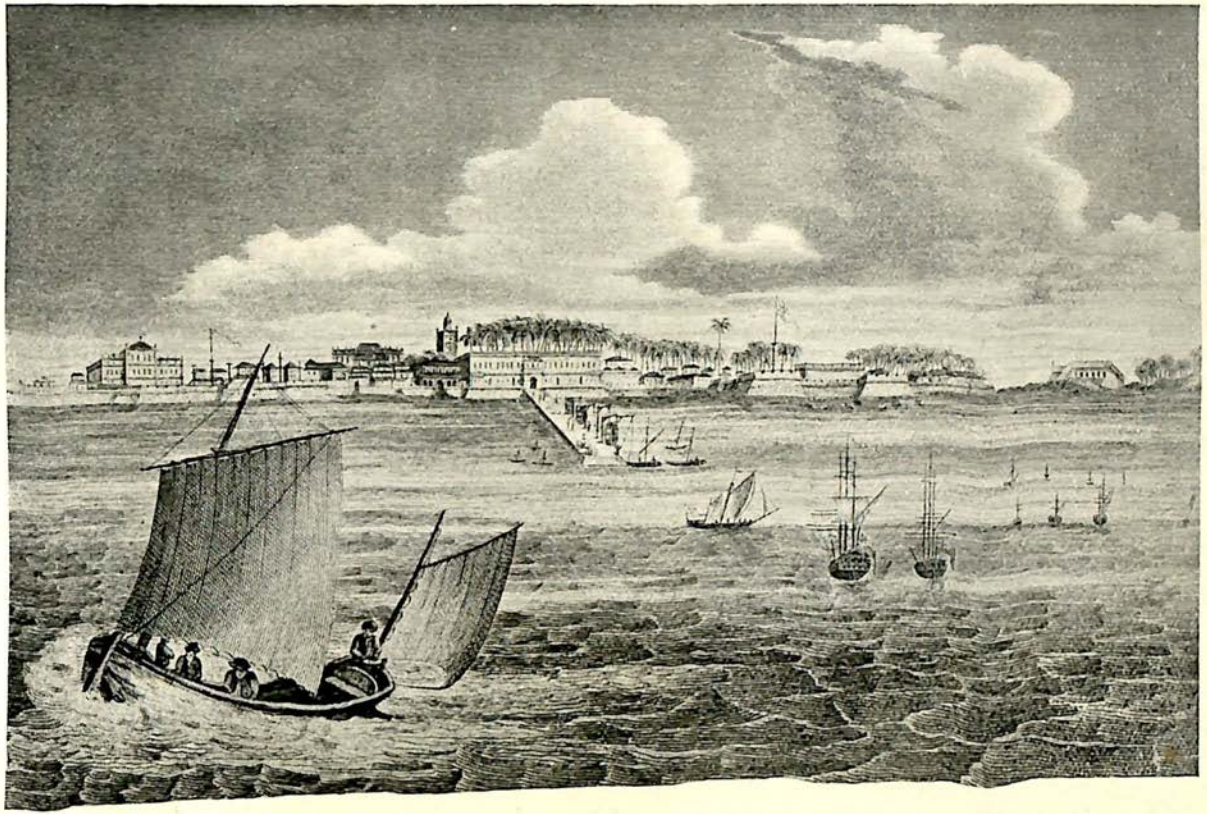
As a matter of fact Price did not get £10,000 prize money. Later the Madras Army prize agents challenged the right of the Bombay agents to an equal share with them and took the matter into court, and won the case. Price, being away in England, was not in a position to defend the case properly.

In 1804 Price became a Major and applied for permission to proceed to Europe with the option of eventually retiring from the service.

He left Bombay on the 15th February, 1805, in the *St. Vincent*. For a small cabin on the upper deck taken

VIEW OF BOMBAY, ABOUT 1790, SEEN FROM THE HARBOUR.

The picture is from Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs;* it is reproduced from a drawing by William Daniell.



off from the starboard end of the cuddy; "just large enough to receive a large coffer bed-place, table, chair and washing-apparatus," he paid Rs.3000, which, he says, was equal to about £350. Boden and Moor travelled home on the same vessel.

Boden did not long survive his retirement, but Price and Moor lived for many years.

Price settled down at Brecon and married in 1807. He became a magistrate of the county of Brecknock, and, between 1811 and 1821, published in instalments his *Chronological Retrospect of Muhammadan History*. This was followed in 1824 by his *Essay towards the History of Arabia*. He translated the *Autobiography of the Emperor Jehangir*, *The Last Days of Krishna*, and other Oriental works. He died in 1835, aged 73, and left to the Royal Asiatic Society his collection of Oriental manuscripts, which numbered about ninety volumes.

His *Memoirs of the Early Life and Service of a Field Officer* was published after his death under the editorship of his friend Moor, to whom it was dedicated.

Moor was born in 1770. He was under 12 years of age when he was appointed a Cadet in the East India Company's service. He landed in Madras in April, 1783. Before he was eighteen, when he was made a Lieutenant, he passed the vernacular examination with great credit.

Moor was present at the Siege of Dharwar, and was one of the storming party on February 7th, 1791, when his friend Price was wounded. Moor escaped injury at Dharwar, but on June 13th, 1791, he was shot through the right shoulder at the assault of Doridrug, and on December 31st, 1791, he was wounded in the right knee and left elbow. The joint of the elbow was completely

destroyed, and in consequence he had to go to England. In 1794, while in England, Moor published *A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Mahratta Army commanded by Persseram Bhow against Tippoo Sultaun.*

In April, 1796, Moor re-embarked for India, and in the following year he was given the command of the escort of Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona. Later he was appointed Secretary to Mr. Uhthoff, who was head of an embassy to Poona. Next, Moor officiated as Quartermaster-General. In 1799 he was given the newly-created appointment of Garrison Storekeeper. This post, which was later styled the Commissary Generalship, he held until 1803. As there was much fighting in Moor's time the post was no sinecure. Nevertheless Moor found time for literary work. He was mainly instrumental in establishing *The Bombay Herald,* and, at the instance of Jonathan Duncan, the Governor, he compiled a digest of the Bombay Army Regulations, for which he was granted an honorarium of Rs.12,000. When Moor went home on furlough in 1803, with Price and Boden, he had not put in the 22 years in India necessary for a full pension. As his wound was still unhealed at the end of his furlough he had to retire on half-pay, but he was granted an additional pension on account of his good work. Moor was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1806. Four years later his *Hindoo Pantheon* appeared. In 1811 he published *Hindoo Infanticide,* and in 1823 *Suffolk Words and Phrases.* Moor became a Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Suffolk.

V

THE SOLA TOPI

IT is one of the ironies of fate that the names of some of the greatest ameliorators of life in India have not come down to posterity. What debts do Europeans owe to the inventors of the swinging punka, the long chair with leg rests, the *khaskhas tatti* and the *sola topi*. We cannot do more than send up songs of thankfulness to our unknown benefactors!

As regards such comparatively modern appliances as the thermantidote and the electric fan we are perhaps a little less in the dark. The earliest mention of the thermantidote which the writer has come across is that of Fanny Parks, who speaks, in 1831, of the "thermantidote which answers admirably, almost too well, as on the 22nd I was laid up with rheumatic fever and lumbago occasioned . . . by standing or sleeping before it." Yule and Burnell tell us, in *Hobson Jobson*, that they have a dim remembrance that this invention was ascribed to Dr. Spilsbury. Can any reader say whether this recollection was correct? Can any one assure us that for the thermantidote we have to take off our hats to George Green Spilsbury, who came out to India in 1823, and who was for some years surgeon to the Saugor Political Agency?

Again, is any one able to state positively who devised

the electric fan? Was it an American genius or some heat-tormented European?

The *khaskhas tatti* was invented in the distant past. Bernier writes in 1665 of "certain *kas kanays*, that is little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very neatly made and commonly placed in the midst of a parterre . . . so that the servants may easily with their pompion-bottles water them from without."

We know that the swinging punka came into use about 1780, but as regards the long chair and the *sola topi* we have yet to discover in what years Anglo-India first experienced their blessings. Yule and Burnell are unsatisfactory on the subject of the *sola topi*. They tell us, indeed, that *shola* is the vernacular name of the plant *Æschynomene aspera* (N. O. *Leguminosæ*), but they do not say where we shall find the first mention of this useful article of head-wear, much less the name of its inventor.

Brandis, in that collection of dry bones to which he has given the attractive title *Indian Trees*, dismisses this thrice-blessed plant with the curt entry "Bengal, rare in the Western Peninsula, Ceylon. A tall, erect water plant, attaining 12 ft. and 3 in. in diam.; the well-known *sola*, the soft white wood generally called pith, is made into toys, floats and sola hats, invaluable as a protection against the sun."

Perhaps some one who has drunk deep of the cup of Indian literature will tell us where to find the first mention of the *sola topi*. Does this honour again belong to the sprightly Fanny Parks whose *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque* has given pleasure to many generations of Europeans in India? On the 5th September,

1833, she writes: "Our friend Mr. S—— arrived yesterday. He was robbed ere he quitted Jaunpore of almost all he possessed; the thieves carried off all his property from the bungalow, with the exception of his *sola topi*, a great, broad-brimmed white hat, made of the pith of the sola.

"The best sola hats are made in Calcutta; they are very light and an excellent defence from the sun: the root of which the *topi* is formed is like pith; it is cut into thin layers, which are pasted together to form the hat. At Meerut they cover them with the skin of the pelican, with all its feathers on, which renders it impervious to sun or rain; and the feathers, sticking out beyond the rim of the hat, give a demented air to the wearer."

Miss E. Eden, in *Up the Country*, speaks also of Europeans wearing "broad white feather hats to keep off the sun."

The *sola topi* took many years before it became universally worn. When it was yet unknown, people used, as far as possible, to avoid going out in the middle of the day, and when compelled to expose themselves to the sun adopted various devices to protect their heads from its rays. Captain Harvey tells us that he used to wear a broad-brimmed straw hat, under which he placed cabbage or plaintain leaves.

A contributor to the *Meerut Universal Magazine* in 1836, writing under the initials C.R., thus delivers himself on the subject of head-wear. "Ten years have passed away since I saw a *hat*. The coverings for the head worn in this country—whether black, brown or white beaver; whether straw, chip or leghorn; whether sorah hats or hunting caps; whether deer skin or oil skin;

whether a fancy article or a Calcutta tailor's; whether entire and sun proof or perforated with sundry bullet holes by some zealous griffin addicted to target practice; whether padded with cotton or wet towels, or undamped —cannot with propriety be called hats. There is an endless variety in their shape, size and structure, a never-failing study and occupation for the hatologist, but an insuperable objection to their bearing the honourable title of hats. Peace be with them; let their name be *topi.*"

It was not until after the Mutiny that the *sola topi* attained its supremacy and drove out all other kinds of sun-hats. Since reaching this pinnacle, the *sola topi* has blossomed forth into many varieties. There is the helmet-shaped creation, purchased in London at a long price with a black metal helmet-case, by the griffin *in posse*, only to be discarded, with many lamentations, a few days after its arrival on India's coral strand. Then there is the inverted soup-plate, which can be obtained for a few francs at Port Said. This has but an ephemeral existence in India; its constitution is not strong enough to survive the ribald jests made at its expense by the wearer's friends. Next there is the Cawnpore Tent Club *topi*, khaki-hued and business-like, which for many years has maintained its own against all-comers in Northern India. Again there is the Curzon *topi*—a dainty pale grey thing, becoming to the wearer. There are yet others, whose name is legion, advertised in the catalogues of "Europe" shops—the Lamington, the Minto, the Polo, etc. These, like the Curzon, are but creatures of the moment, fashionable to-day, forgotten to-morrow—attempts on the part of the wily hatter to extract a few rupees from the "knut." Mention

must be made of that mammoth among *topis*—in shape like a distorted Rob Roy canoe, much affected by railway subordinates—which, although it has at no time been largely worn, is, like the poor, always with us. So long as the sun remains this monster will have its devotees.

The ingenuity of hat designers has for many years been exerted in the attempt to construct the ideal *sola topi*—a hat light as a panama, smart as a "Homburg," absolutely sun-proof, of a design capable, like the "topper" and "bowler" in England, of those little changes which constitute the difference between a fashionable and an unfashionable article. Hitherto the hatters—poor fellows—have met with but slight success! Small wonder, then, that they should have gained the reputation of being mad. Is it possible to conceive of anything more maddening to a hatter than to see a High Court judge wearing the same *topi* for five or six years?

The milliners appear to have been more fortunate; for have not they designed a *sola topi* of "popular sailor shape, with a slight mushroom droop, covered with any colour straw, flat velvet, birds, and fancy wool finish." Could anything be more bewitching? If this *confection* be sun-proof, then the women have succeeded where the men have failed. Awake, ye hatters! Arouse yourselves from your lethargy! Construct a fashionable *sola topi!*

VI

SOME JOURNALISTS

IN the days of the Company, the average editor of an English newspaper in this country was a rolling-stone, an adventurer possessed of more or less literary ability, who in the course of a chequered career had tried his hand at most things.

Busteed, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, has rescued from oblivion James Augustus Hicky, the editor and proprietor of the short-lived *Bengal Gazette, or The Calcutta General Advertiser*. The first number of this paper appeared on Saturday, the 29th January, 1780.

As regards the *format* of the paper, Busteed writes :— "It consisted of two sheets about twelve inches by eight, three columns of printed matter on each side, much of which was devoted to advertisements ; the greater portion of the small budget was made up of correspondence from local and distant contributors, and occasional extracts from the news last received from Europe. The paper and printing are very poor."

Busteed, in the chapter entitled "The Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper, 1780–82," gives copious extracts from the *Bengal Gazette*, which show that it was a vulgar and scurrilous production. Since the publication of Busteed's book, one even more entertaining has appeared—*The Memoirs of William Hickey*. This last

gives some account of J. A. Hicky, who, by the way, was not related in any way to William Hickey. James Augustus Hicky arrived in India about 1771. After he had been about five years in Calcutta he was imprisoned for debt and remained in jail for two years. During his confinement he came across a book on printing, and, as there was no newspaper in Calcutta, Hicky determined when he left jail to set up a press and start a newspaper.

When William Hickey—the attorney and the writer of the memoirs mentioned above—came to Calcutta, J. A. Hicky, profiting by his name, wrote from jail to William, asking the latter to be so good as to call on him. "I did so," writes William Hickey, "and found a most eccentric creature apparently possessed of considerable natural talents, but entirely uncultivated. Never before had I beheld a mortal who so completely came up to what I had often heard described as 'a wild Irishman.' He related a lamentable tale of the unmerited cruelty with which he had been persecuted by a few malignant Bengalis, who had kept him locked up in prison upwards of two years upon false debts, which, although supported by the oaths of different plaintiffs, were founded only in perjury."

William Hickey, as the result of documents shown him, became convinced of the truth of the story, and determined to give Augustus all the aid in his power. "Upon enquiring particularly into the character and conduct of my namesake," writes Hickey, "I learnt that he was extremely violent. Yielding so much to sudden gusts of passion and so grossly abusing whoever acted for him that at length not a professional man could be found to act for him, and he actually remained a prisoner

from there not being an attorney who would have anything to say to him."

Hicky lived up to his reputation while William was acting for him: objecting during the hearing of a case that Tilghman, his counsel, did not know how to probe the conscience of a rascally native of Bengal, and that he would question him himself. Hickey gives the following account of what followed:

"Mr. Tilghman instantly, with great indignation, threw up his brief, accusing me with breach of my word, inasmuch as I had ventured to say I could be answerable for the propriety of my client.

"Enraged at Hicky's behaviour, I told him he was a lying vagabond scoundrel, who ought and should for me, rot in jail. The poor devil burst into a violent flood of tears, threw himself upon his knees, entreating the Judges to plead for him with me, and that if I would forgive him and continue to manage his business, he would leave the court and in future be guided solely by me. The Chief Justice (Sir Elijah Impey) humanely desired I would comply, and I did so, prevailing upon Mr. Tilghman to resume his brief. In this case we succeeded in getting a judgment [illegible] defendant, whereby a pretended debt of twenty thousand rupees, for which he had been arrested, was completely done away, the Court expressing a wish that the plaintiff should be indicted for perjury.

"Two days after this success, another of Hickey's causes came on, when he was again present, and extremely agitated during the testimony given by the plaintiff's witnesses, frequently exclaiming, though in an undervoice, and, as it were, to himself: 'Auch, the thief!

The villain! The perjured villain, how he lies! Auch, Jasus, sweet Jasus, how am I persecuted and torn to paces' (pieces). In this case we also succeeded, and by the end of the term I got rid of all his roguish plaintiffs and procured his liberation, for which he was most truly grateful."

The above shows what manner of man Hicky was, and helps to explain the fate of his newspaper. As soon as he was free he set to work and cut a rough set of types, with which he was able to print hand-bills. As he printed them cheaply, he met with considerable encouragement. When he had by this means made sufficient he sent to England for proper printing materials to enable him to start a newspaper. By way of a second string to his bow he resolved to set up also as physician, surgeon and apothecary, and ordered out a quantity of medicine.

As soon as the printing materials arrived, Hicky announced his intention of producing "a weekly periodical and commercial paper open to all parties, but influenced by none."

"As a novelty," writes William Hickey, "every person read it, and was delighted. Possessing a fund of low wit, his paper abounded [illegible] that talent. He had also a happy knack of applying appropriate nicknames and relating satirical anecdotes."

Busteed is less complimentary. He considers the earlier issues of the paper "often vulgar and invariably dull, but on the whole harmless."

William Hickey writes: "The emolument arising from Hicky's paper became immense, and with common prudence he would have made a large fortune, but suffering it to become the channel of personal invective

and the most scurrilous abuse of individuals of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor, many were attacked in the most wanton and cruel manner."

Hicky even went so far as to insert some objectionable remarks about Mrs. Warren Hastings. This resulted in an order prohibiting the distribution of the paper through the General Post Office. This did not operate as a check on the editorial pen. On the contrary, the paper grew increasingly offensive, so that eventually Hicky was arrested on a charge of libelling Hastings. He was tried in January, 1782, found guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine. In consequence of his inability to pay the fine, the press was sold up in March, 1782, and this ended the existence of the scurrilous paper.

There are many others having a better title than Hicky to be the subject of biographical sketches.

One of these—James Silk Buckingham—was one of the most remarkable Englishmen who have yet lived. His fortunes underwent kaleidoscopic changes. He was up one day and down the next. There is, alas, nothing unusual in this, but what was unusual was that in most cases the sudden descents were not due to any foolishness on the part of Buckingham. He began to write his autobiography, but unfortunately died before he came to the period of his journalistic career in Calcutta.

Some account of this, however, is to be found in a pamphlet published in 1824, on the Parliamentary enquiry on the claims of Buckingham against the East India Company.

He was born in the West of England at the seaside, and like many a boy had an overmastering passion for

the sea. He made his first voyage when he was about eleven years old. On one of his early voyages the ship in which he served was captured by the French, and Buckingham became a prisoner of war. After a time he and his fellow-prisoners were set free and told to make their way to Portugal as best they could on foot. Later, Buckingham served as seaman in the Royal Navy, but deserted on account of the wretched conditions under which he had to serve. After this experience he left the sea for a time and set up a shop at which nautical books and appliances were sold. Owing to the misfeasance of a trustee he and his young wife were suddenly plunged into poverty, then Buckingham had to work for some time as a compositor in printing offices. Eventually he secured the post of first officer on a small merchant ship. Later he went to Egypt, and was sent from there in 1815 by some merchants on a mission to make a personal survey of the Red Sea in order to ascertain whether it could be safely navigated by merchant vessels, and, in the event of the survey proving satisfactory, to proceed to Bombay to learn whether the merchants of that port were willing to co-operate with those of Egypt in reviving the commerce that had formerly existed between Egypt and Bombay.

Soon after Buckingham's arrival in Bombay, it was discovered that he possessed no licence; he was accordingly ordered to leave India, but not before he had ascertained that the Bombay merchants were favourably disposed to the enterprise. On his return to Egypt Buckingham undertook to reopen "the ancient canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean," and succeeded in drawing up a Treaty of Commerce,

the parties to which were Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, Peter Lee, the British Consul on behalf of the merchants of Egypt, and Buckingham on behalf of the merchants of India. By the terms of this Treaty Mohammed Ali agreed to afford full protection to British ships and merchandise and to reduce duties by one half. Buckingham, who appears to have been incapable of pursuing an object for any length of time, seems to have done nothing further towards establishing trade between India and Egypt. He went to England and there obtained a licence to reside in India; after that he assumed the command of a frigate belonging to the Imam of Muscat. In 1816, 1817 and 1818 he sailed his ship in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. In June, 1818, he received orders at Calcutta to take his vessel to Madagascar to convoy some slavers; as he did not approve of the slave trade he resigned his command, notwithstanding that it was yielding him an income of £4,000 a year.

Finding that Buckingham was without occupation, the well-known Calcutta merchant, Mr. John Palmer, asked him whether he would undertake the editorship and management of a newspaper which Palmer wished to found. The reason for the desire was that the five or six Calcutta newspapers which then existed were all edited by Government servants and under such strict Government control that none of them would admit "any communication calculated to call in question either the wisdom or the justice of any regulation, order, or law affecting their own peculiar interests."

As the Marquis of Hastings—the Governor-General at the time—had just removed the censorship of the

press, and as Palmer wanted an editor who possessed independence rather than ability, Buckingham gladly closed with the offer, and no time was lost in starting the *Calcutta Journal*, the first issue of which appeared on the 1st October, 1818. Thirty people each subscribed one thousand rupees, and with this sum the copyright of two existing newspapers of small circulation was purchased.

The rivals of the *Calcutta Journal* were the *Hurkaru*, *John Bull*, edited by Dr. Jameson, and the *India Gazette*, conducted by Dr. Grant. Both Grant and Jameson were on the Company's Medical Establishment, and were permitted to edit these papers while carrying on their official duties.

Notwithstanding these rivals, the *Calcutta Journal* met with immediate success. To quote Buckingham, "such was the attraction which it possessed for the Indian community that in the short space of three months its returns of profit were sufficient to enable me to repay the whole of the 30,000 rupees advanced, and leave a surplus beyond that in my possession." The words "Indian community" refer to English people in India —at that time probably not a score of Indians subscribed to newspapers in English. The price of the *Calcutta Journal* was one rupee per copy. In addition to this, subscribers who lived outside Calcutta had to pay postage, which was heavy, and varied with the distance. The postage to some of the more remote stations was five rupees a copy.

In 1819 Buckingham found that the postage paid by him for transmitting copies of his paper amounted to Rs.30,000 a year. He accordingly offered the Govern-

ment Rs.40,000 a year on condition that the *Calcutta Journal* should be franked to all parts of India. This offer was accepted, and Buckingham was able in consequence to sell the paper at a flat rate to mofussil subscribers post free. This arrangement came into force with effect from the 27th August, 1819, and resulted in a greatly increased circulation. Unfortunately Buckingham does not state what the circulation was.

Before this arrangement was effected, Buckingham had fallen foul of the Government by publishing a letter on the 26th May, 1819, from a Madras correspondent about the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, whose tenure of the post of Governor had been extended by three years. The story that has obtained currency is that Buckingham did not approve of Elliot's administration, and so published the issue of his paper announcing the extension of his term of office with a black mourning band, and in consequence he was deported from India. This version cannot be true, as Buckingham was not deported until four years later. Buckingham's version of the occurrence, and this is doubtless the true one, was that he published in the ordinary form the following article:—

"Madras.—We have received a letter from Madras, of the 10th instant, written on deep black-edged mourning post, of considerable breadth, and apparently made for the occasion, communicating as a piece of melancholy and afflicting intelligence, the fact of Mr. Elliot's being confirmed in the Government of that Presidency for three years longer!

"It is regarded at Madras as a public calamity, and we fear that it will be regarded in no other light throughout India generally. An anecdote is mentioned in the

same letter regarding the exercise of the censorship of the press, which is worthy of being recorded as a fact illustrative of the callosity to which the human heart may arrive, and it may be useful, humiliating as it is to the pride of our species, to show what men, by giving loose to the principles of despotism over their fellows, may at length arrive at.

"It will be in the recollection of our readers that a very beautiful and pathetic letter from the late lamented Princess Charlotte to her mother, written just previous to her death, was printed in the *Calcutta Journal* about a month ago. This was much admired at Madras, as it had been here, and the editors of the public prints there, very laudably desiring to add every possible interest to their columns, had inserted this letter, but it was struck out by the pen of the censor (whom the public of course exonerate, since it is known to all by whom he is necessarily directed), and the only reason that could be assigned for its suppression was that it placed the character of the Princess Charlotte, and her attachment to her mother in too amiable a light and tended to criminate, by inference, those who were accessory to their unnatural separation, of which party the friends of the director of the censor of the press unfortunately were!"

The Madras Government took exception to this article, and the Bengal Government wrote Buckingham a letter of remonstrance, and in consequence he expressed his regret that the article had been printed. Thus the incident terminated.

Before long, the *Calcutta Journal* again offended the Madras Government, which thereupon ordered all the issues of the paper sent by post to the Madras Presidency

to be stopped at Ganjam, and opened. Those which were deemed to contain anything objectionable were returned to the editor, who had to pay return postage, and those which contained nothing to which the censor took exception were forwarded to their destination, but before being delivered the subscriber had to pay postage from Ganjam, notwithstanding the fact that under the arrangement described above all papers were marked "full paid" at Calcutta.

As a counter-move to this, Buckingham announced that in future, instead of charging Madras subscribers Rs.20 p.m., the usual price for mofussil subscribers, he would charge only Rs.10, the price at which the paper was sold at Calcutta, by way of a premium to his Madras subscribers for their patronage of free discussion. The announcement concluded with the following words: "The sacrifice we now propose will be, it is true, an addition to much pecuniary loss, but it will be at least a voluntary one, and we trust that the dissemination of sound principles in politics and free enquiry on all topics of great public interest will meet no check by this means, but that the triumph of liberality over its opposite quality will be full and complete, whatever obstacles may be opposed to it, or in whatever quarter such opposition may originate."

This passage does not strike the present-day reader as particularly immoderate or offensive, but the Bengal Government thought otherwise and ordered Buckingham to write an apology and submit it for the approval of the Government before publishing it.

Buckingham justified his action, stating that in his opinion the Madras Government had acted unjustly

and inflicted serious pecuniary loss on him. Thereupon the Bengal Government stated that they would be satisfied if Buckingham expressed regret at having said anything to cause pain to H.E. the Governor-General in Council or to any branch of the Hon. Company's Government in India.

The next offence of the *Calcutta Journal* was the publication of the following letter :—

"To the Editor,

Western Provinces, June 10, 1821.

Sir,—I shall be glad by any of your correspondents clearing up the following, for the benefit of your numerous subscribers at one of the largest military stations in India.—I am, etc.,

A CHURCHMAN,

and the Friend of a lady on her death-bed.

"Can a Military Chaplain, fixed at a station where there are two King's Regiments, besides numerous other corps and departments, which might occupy two clergymen generally, and whose duties therefore when alone require his constant presence, absent himself from the station without the leave of the Commanding Officer? At this sickly season his presence with the dying in hospital —sometimes six or eight a day—is urgently required and cannot decently be dispensed with, independent of the impropriety of also interrupting the proper observance of the Sabbath, for two or three Sundays consecutively, where so large a body of Christians are residing.

"It is asserted (but I conceive erroneously) that the chaplains have received orders from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta not to make themselves amenable to any military

or other local authorities; therefore, when a young couple at an outpost prefer going to the expense of making the clergyman travel 250 miles to go and marry them, he is at perfect liberty to accept the invitation and to leave three thousand other Christians, his own parishioners, to bury each other and postpone all other Christian ordinances until his tour is completed, which in this instance occupies, I understand, more than three Sabbaths. In consequence of one of these ill-timed matrimonial requisitions in December last, the performance of Divine Service and other religious observances of the season were entirely overlooked at Christmas, which passed by for some Sundays in succession and Christmas Day included, wholly unobserved. . . ."

The Bishop, Dr. Middleton, complained of the letter, and in consequence the Chief Secretary to the Government asked Buckingham the name of the writer. Buckingham replied that he was not in a position to give this because the writer had not furnished it. Whereupon Buckingham was told that if he should, on any future occasion, insert an anonymous letter containing insinuations against any member of the Government his licence to reside in India would be immediately annulled without any previous discussion.

Buckingham put in a lengthy protest against this order, to which the Government made no reply.

A few months later a letter appeared in the *Calcutta Journal*, written by Colonel Robinson, of H.M.'s 24th Regiment, but published under the *nom de plume* "Sam Sobersides," poking fun at the way in which dinners, balls and other entertainments were conducted in Calcutta. Incredible though it seems, the six Secretaries to the

Government of Bengal considered that these remarks were levelled at them, and prosecuted Buckingham for libel. Needless to state, he was acquitted.

Shortly afterwards Buckingham fell foul of Dr. Jameson, the editor of *John Bull.* Jameson, who, according to Buckingham, already held six appointments, was in 1822 made, in addition to these, Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors. The *Calcutta Journal* published an article protesting against the appointment on the ground that Jameson, if he held it, must of necessity neglect the duties of his other appointments. Jameson challenged Buckingham, and a duel was fought, two shots being exchanged on either side without any damage being done. The Rev. James Bryce, D.D., a Presbyterian minister in the Company's service, was even more hostile than Jameson to Buckingham. Bryce started and edited a newspaper in Calcutta called the *Indian John Bull.* This appears to have had a very brief existence. Eventually Buckingham brought an action for libel against Bryce, and was awarded Rs.1,000 damages. Meanwhile in 1823 Bryce was appointed clerk of the committee for supplying the Government offices with stationery, a post which carried a salary of Rs.500 p.m.

Buckingham considered that this appointment was a "job" and seized upon it as an opportunity for attacking Bryce. The following article appeared in the *Calcutta Journal* of the 8th February, 1823 :—

"During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good city of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an appendix to the Government *Gazette* of the morning was issued in

a separate form, and, coming in the shape of a *Gazette Extraordinary*, was eagerly seized even at that inconvenient hour in the hope of its containing intelligence of great public importance. Some, in whose bosoms this hope had been most strongly excited, may perhaps have felt disappointment; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them during the remainder of the evening.

"The reverend gentleman named below, who, we perceive by the index of that useful publication, the *Annual Directory*, is a Doctor of Divinity, and Moderator of the Kirk Session, and who by the favour of the higher powers combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has no doubt been selected for the arduous duties of his new place, from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interests. Such a clerk as is here required to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him should be a competent judge of the several sorts of pasteboard, sealing-wax, inkstand, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape and leather, and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationers' Hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the reverend gentleman no doubt possesses in a more eminent degree than any other person could be found to do the duties of such an office, and though at first sight such information may seem incompatible with a theological education, yet we know that the country abounds with surprising instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.

"In Scotland we believe the duties of a Presbyterian

minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on other days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold and encouraging the timid in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian clergyman were to do his duty in India he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year, in the zealous and faithful discharge of those pious duties which ought more especially to engage his devout attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection indeed who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves without a pastor at all; and even when the shepherd was among them he had abundant time to edit a controversial newspaper (long since defunct) and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses and flatteries that were current at the time. He has continued to display this eminently active if not holy disposition up to the present period, and according to the maxim 'to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even that little he th shall be taken away,' this reverend doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of Divinity or with is perhaps the very best person that could all things considered, to take care of the , pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, leather, lead and tape of the Honourable East-India Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that n drafts are given on their treasury for gum that won't stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal. . . ."

It was, perhaps, unfortunate for Buckingham that at the time this article appeared the Marquis of Hastings, who had never deported any one, was no longer Governor-General, and that Mr. John Adam, who had not approved of the leniency of the noble Marquis, was holding the Governor-Generalship pending the arrival of Lord Amherst.

On the day following that on which the article appeared, Buckingham received an official letter saying he had forfeited his claim to the countenance and protection of the Supreme Government, and that in consequence the licence of the Court of Directors authorizing him to proceed to the East Indies was declared to be void from and after the 15th of the following April. This gave Buckingham a little more than two months in which to leave the country.

As Buckingham's wife and children were about to leave England for India he lost no time in taking his departure in order to stop them from coming out. He left Calcutta on the 1st March and reached England on the 30th June and found the ship in which his wife was sailing wind-bound at Deal.

Before leaving India, Buckingham made arrangements for the carrying on of the *Calcutta Journal* in his absence, appointing Mr. Sandys editor, with Messrs. Arnot and Sutherland assistant editors. As one of these had been born in India it was not necessary for him to have a licence to reside in the country, and Buckingham therefore had the satisfaction of knowing that the gentleman in question could not be deported. Mr. Adam, however, was equal to the occasion, and introduced on the 4th April, 1823, an Ordinance requiring every newspaper to take out a licence revokable at the pleasure of the Government.

The *Calcutta Journal* took out a licence, and all went well until the paper proceeded to reprint in instalments a pamphlet by Colonel Leicester Stanhope, published in London, entitled *Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India.* The last section of the pamphlet appeared in the issue of the Journal of the 30th October, 1823. On the 10th of November the proprietors were informed that as their paper had revived the discussion of topics that had been officially prohibited, the Government had revoked the licence to print and publish in Calcutta a newspaper called *The Calcutta Journal of Politics and General Literature* and supplement thereto issued on Sundays entitled and called "New Weekly Register and General Advertiser for the Stations of the Interior, with heads of the latest Intelligence, published as a supplement to the country edition of the *Calcutta Journal.*" At the same time, Arnot, one of the assistant editors, was ordered to leave the country.

The publication of the paper had forthwith to cease, but the proprietors applied for a fresh licence, and, as hopes were held out that they would obtain it, the staff of the newspaper was not dismissed. A new licence was granted, and it was settled that the paper would reappear on the 1st December, 1823, but the Government considered that the announcement to this effect was offensive in its tone, as it spoke of the "melancholy check" that had been put on discussion, the effect of which was "to intimidate many from writing at all and to cripple the effusions of those who still ventured to indulge in the expression of sentiments at all at variance with the existing state of things." In consequence, on the 30th November, an order was received prohibiting the

appearance of what was to have been the first issue after the revival of the paper. Up to this time over Rs.50,000 had been spent on establishment since the paper had ceased to be published. After this the Government refused to grant any licence to the paper so long as Buckingham had anything to do with it.

Eventually Dr. W. P. Muston, of the Company's Medical Establishment, obtained a licence to publish a newspaper called *The Scotsman in the East.* For this he used Buckingham's press, paying rent therefor. After a short time Muston sold his paper to Messrs. Smith and Lock, the proprietors of the *Bengal Hurkaru,* who did not require Buckingham's press, which had to be sold for a mere song. Arnot, who had been ordered to leave India when the licence of the *Calcutta Journal* was revoked, disobeyed the order and took refuge in the Danish settlement of Serampore. He was, however, arrested, confined in the fort at Calcutta and put on board a ship—the *Fame*—bound for England. On the way home the ship caught fire and Arnot's property was damaged. For this the Court of Directors awarded him £1,500 as compensation.

Buckingham was eventually granted a pension by the East India Company to compensate him for the treatment he had received, and he had also the satisfaction of knowing that as soon as the Court of Directors heard of Dr. Bryce's appointment they cancelled it, stating that it was objectionable on general principles that a clergyman should hold a civil office under the Government.

About the same time the editor of the *Bombay Gazette* —a Mr. Fair—was deported because, at the behest of a

clique of discontented barristers, he inserted an article offensive to Sir Edward West, the Recorder of Bombay.

While the deportation of Fair roused little comment, that of Buckingham caused quite a sensation. The general opinion was that it tended to increase the liberty of the Press in India because, to use the words of Stocqueler, "such an atrocious piece of tyranny would not bear repetition."

"Buckingham," writes Stocqueler, "was the bold dragoon who leaped over the bayonets of the infantry square of ancient prejudice, sacrificing himself to the public interest in his rare moral hardihood." As Stocqueler was a journalist, these words must be taken to voice the opinion of his fraternity.

Stocqueler, like Buckingham, had a curious history. He was educated at a French academy at Camden Town, London. He then became a bank clerk. He soon tired of this existence and went on the stage. Not finding that sufficiently interesting, he enlisted in the East India Company's army at Chatham. He was almost immediately made a non-commissioned officer, and within a few weeks was shipped out to Bombay, where he became a clerk in the Adjutant's office. From this he went to the Paymaster's office. After two years he obtained a post in the office of the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, on a salary of 200 rupees a month, which was speedily increased to 400. He was then asked to become the editor of a newly-established Bombay paper called the *Argus*, the name of which was changed by Stocqueler to the *Bombay Chronicle*. The position did not satisfy Stocqueler, and he decided to visit England and come back with all the materials for a newspaper of his

own. He returned in 1827 after an absence of fifteen months and started at Bombay a paper called the *Iris*. This was intended to have as many hues as the rainbow, but, as Stocqueler frankly admits, it possessed only the watery properties thereof. There was, he declares, no scope for journalistic enterprise. "The acts of Government were never made public. Everything resolved itself into bureaucratic correspondence, and those who suffered from any arbitrary decrees dared not make known their real or supposed wrongs through the public Press. I did my best to invite sedition, and encourage discontent, but all to no purpose. The people generally seemed to know on which side their bread was buttered." Thus the *Iris* was about to expire of inanition when it was resuscitated by an unexpected agency—the Parsees. A dispute arose over the Parsee calendar. "Having," writes Stocqueler, "failed to balance their quadrennial difficulty by a leap year, for I don't remember how long a period, they were altogether out in their dates. March had somehow got into the middle of September, or January had walked into May, I forget which—and the learned priests did not know how to put matters straight; the Parsees were divided as to the remedy. Some were for an intercalary month—others for a different arrangement. Anyhow, the dispute waxed hot."

Stocqueler's munshi persuaded him to insert in the *Iris* an article favouring one view, alleging that it would bring in a lot of subscribers. Although the article occupied two columns and seemed to Stocqueler "unintelligible farrago," he inserted it. The Parsees bought the paper by hundreds. Then the other side put in a reply, which of course called for a rejoinder. The game went on

until the subject was worn-out, without either party being convinced. But the controversy had given the *Iris* a circulation, and the paper had become a force in Bombay. Its increasing popularity alarmed the *Bombay Courier*, which bought up and extinguished the *Iris* and installed Stocqueler in the editorial chair of the *Courier* on a salary of Rs.1,000 per mensem. A condition of the agreement, not very agreeable to the new editor, was that he must be mild in his politics.

Shortly after the installation of Stocqueler as editor, Mr. Alexander Bell, of the Bombay Civil Service and a Member of Council, who was one of the chief proprietors of the *Courier*, had to sever his connection with the paper because of an order from the Board of Directors in London. It had been the custom for Civil Servants to take large shares in newspapers. Some of them were attacked for so doing in the Bengal Press, and this gave rise to the order in question. Stocqueler purchased Bell's share in the *Courier* for Rs.26,000. The paper was at the time a valuable property, since it had the monopoly of the advertisements and printing of the Bombay Government, which brought in Rs.40,000 a year. Shortly after this the *Courier* fell foul of the *Bombay Gazette*, which was edited by Captain Morris, a retired mariner. The matter ended in a duel in which neither side was wounded.

On the 1st November, 1827, Sir John Malcolm succeeded Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay. Malcolm, like Lord William Bentinck, had been sent out by the Company to curtail expenditure. The Company used to be seized periodically with a fit of economy; herein it differed from the Government of the Crown, in which

the malady has become chronic. Malcolm found that it would cost Rs.20,000 a year to run a *Bombay Government Gazette*, which would serve the Government better than the *Courier* did at double the charge.

The *Courier* then felt that the muzzle on its freedom of speech was removed, and forthwith became the organ of the disaffected. It lashed out furiously at the Government on the matter of the half-batta regulation. Malcolm, being easy-going, did not deport Stocqueler, who became popular among the military for championing their cause, and was encouraged by them to start a *Sporting Magazine and Racing Calendar.*

In 1830 Stocqueler was offered the editorship of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the leading liberal paper in Calcutta. Stocqueler accepted the offer, but decided to see something of the world before taking up the editorship, and travelled to England through Mesopotamia, Persia, Russia, Hanover and Holland, and published a book containing an account of his wanderings.

When Stocqueler at last reached Calcutta he found that the editorship of the *Hurkaru* had been given to Colonel James Young, a retired artillery officer, but the proprietor, Mr. Samuel Smith, offered him the editorship of the *Bengal Herald*, a weekly literary journal. As the editorship of this carried less than a quarter of the salary attached to that of the *Hurkaru*, Stocqueler was not exactly enthusiastic at the exchange! He accepted the post, *faute de mieux*, but purchased shortly after *John Bull*, "a daily paper which professed Toryism and was read with pleasure by ancient civilians, who abhorred liberalism in its most moderate and diluted form."

As Stocqueler was an ardent liberal and as the paper

had barely 250 subscribers, the subscriptions of most of whom were hopelessly in arrear, the venture did not look promising. Stocqueler adopted quite a Napoleonic policy. Having been furnished with sufficient capital by B. Dwarkanath Tagore, he was able to secure the services of some able writers, including Sir J. B. Grant, who had just resigned a judgeship of the Bombay High Court, and Charles Thackeray (uncle of the famous novelist). He changed the name of the paper from *John Bull* to *The Englishman*, and made it an ultra-liberal organ. There were already two liberal papers—the *Hurkaru* and the *Indian News*. Stocqueler determined to out-liberal them. Needless to say, the Tory subscribers to *John Bull* were furious at the change in the tone of the paper which had for years comforted them over their chota hazri. Their feelings were much what ours would be if we found the *Pioneer* advocating Bolshevism. Most of them withdrew their subscriptions, and at the same time gave the editor a bit of their mind.

Fortune is said to favour the brave. It certainly showed favour to Stocqueler. Not only Calcutta, but the whole of Bengal, was at that time mourning the failure of Palmer and Co., Alexander and Co., and other Calcutta houses of agency with whom many Europeans had deposited all their savings, having been attracted by a high rate of interest. The liabilities of Palmer and Co. were £5,000,000. Hundreds of people were ruined by their failure, and such were naturally most indignant; but the proprietors of the *Hurkaru* and the *Indian News* were so closely associated with those bankrupt firms that they refused to open their columns to the complaints

of the sufferers. *The Englishman* welcomed these complaints, and thus secured a number of subscribers.

The Englishman was ably conducted, and its boldness and outspokenness attracted some subscribers. Stocqueler also founded the *Bengal Sporting Magazine.* This pleased many people so much, that some who had left the paper when it changed its name and politics came back to it on the ground that the editor was a sportsman!

Last, but by no means least, Stocqueler by means of a lucky scoop was able to add Rs.1,200 per mensem to the income of the paper. It happened in this wise. One evening a poor French watchmaker to whom Stocqueler had previously given money to return to France appeared at Stocqueler's quarters and said, "Monsieur, you did me a service. I am come to offer you one. I arrived three days ago at the mouth of the river and then heard that you had had no arrival from Europe for a month. You will probably not have another for a week or two if the wind remains in the present quarter. Newspapers, dated a month later than any you have received must, I thought, be of value, so I hired a small fishing-boat and pulled night and day to reach Calcutta in good time. Here is a parcel of *Le Bordelais* and a few numbers of the *Journal de Débats.*"

These papers contained much important news, including all the details of the trial of Fieshi for the attempted assassination of Louis Philippe—an event of which India had not then heard. As no other ship arrived for a full month the *Englishman* contained every day for that month items of news which appeared in no other paper.

In the days when there were no cables the news brought

by the mails was all-important and every journal in India tried to be the first to publish interesting items.

When regular communication with Bombay via the Red Sea was established, the Bombay papers had a great pull. Stocqueler thereupon sent an agent to Bombay to prepare a separate edition of the *Englishman* there, so that he should not be forestalled by the Bombay and North-Western papers. When he found that these printed quicker than his agent could do, he sent his sub-editor to London to prepare a paper in London for each mail and send it direct to each up-country subscriber to the *Englishman*. This entailed heavy expenditure, but it effectually destroyed all competition.

The Afghan expedition of 1838 afforded Stocqueler another opportunity of showing his resource and enterprise. He rushed up in a palanquin to Karnal and there induced several military officers in return for adequate payment to agree to send him regular letters dealing with the expedition. In order to forestall all rivals, he established a paper at Delhi to publish all the letters received from the field. He sent a Mr. Place to Delhi to manage the paper and gave him strict injunctions not to write a line, but simply to put in what he received. Place, however, could not resist the temptation of seeing himself in print. Unfortunately, his education was such that he "played havoc with orthography, syntax and prosody." Nevertheless, Place subsequently became the proprietor of the *Delhi Gazette*, which flourished until the mutineers in 1857 threw the types and presses into the Jumna.

The fortunes of the *Englishman* began to wane in the regime of Lord Ellenborough. In consequence

Stocqueler sold the paper for £13,000, nine years after he had paid £1800 for it as *John Bull.*

Writing of the Press in India as he saw it, Stocqueler says: "I found that of Western India in 1823 in a childish condition, that of Bengal essentially weakened by commercial failures, and gubernatorial persecution. I remained long enough to see it reach a healthy maturity, and to become literally the organ of public sentiment, and a useful auxiliary of the Government."

In England Stocqueler lived many years engaged in literary, dramatic and theatrical work. For some time he was the London correspondent of the *Hurkaru* and the *Madras Athenæum.* He wrote a number of books. Of these, perhaps the best known is his *Handbook of India,* published in 1844.

Compared with that of Stocqueler, the existence led by William Knighton was comparatively tame. This journalist is best known to the public as the author of *The Private Life of an Eastern King,* which was published shortly before the Mutiny.

When he was nineteen years old, Knighton went to Ceylon to manage a coffee estate. Two years of this was as much as he could tolerate, and he thankfully accepted an invitation to become the editor of the *Ceylon Herald* on a small salary. As to his fitness for the position, Knighton writes: "Totally ignorant of the mysteries of printing, innocent of the difference between a composing stick and a galley, between Great Primer type and Diamond, I seated myself at the little table in the mysterious office, sole manager and director, editor, corrector of the press, accountant, cashier, treasurer, and letter-writer of the newspaper and of the printing

office." From this it will be inferred that the office was not overstaffed. The staff consisted of Knighton, one clerk, a Goanese head printer, some compositors, and a couple of peons. "Fortunately," writes Knighton, "the paper was published but twice a week, so that I had ample time to write leaders and correct the proof sheets, to write letters to myself and answer them in the editorial columns, to note down answers to correspondents in my liveliest vein, and to go through all the other business of the editor of a 'pushing' colonial newspaper."

After a short time Knighton severed his connection with the *Ceylon Herald* and went to Calcutta to take up the post of lecturer on History and Logic at the Hindu College. He intended to have no more to do with newspapers, but the *furor scribendi* had him in its grip, and he wrote much for the Bengal Press. After he had been some time in Calcutta, a local firm announced that they were about to issue a daily paper printed on a steam press—the first that had ever rounded the Cape. Knighton was asked to edit this paper. The salary offered was not sufficiently liberal to make it worth his while to devote his whole time to the work. The publishers informed him that this was not necessary; they had a military officer to undertake the matter relating to the Sikh War. All they wanted was that Knighton should undertake local politics and they would arrange for the rest. At that time newspapers in India used to rely to a great extent on contributions from persons not on the full-time staff. Stocqueler states that he, as editor of the *Englishman*, used to pay £500 a year each to four regular contributors who were members of the Civil Service.

Knighton carefully refrains from mentioning the name of this paper, possibly because the steam press which had been so loudly proclaimed was actually worked by hand. It bore the name Napier's Steam Press, and could be worked by steam or by hand. When the rival dailies got wind of the fact that no steam was used, they hit out from the shoulder. The *Hurkaru* administered the following castigation: "The *Madras Athenæum* congratulates the proprietors of the new cheap daily on the enterprise they have displayed in introducing the printing by steam into India. It was natural enough that our Madras and Bombay contemporaries should have been misled by the puffing announcements about the steam press, etc., etc. What will they think when we assure them that the newspaper is no more printed by steam than their own or than the *Hurkaru?* Yet such is actually the case. There is neither steam engine nor any place for a steam engine in the new daily's office any more than in our own. Here we leave the matter with our contemporaries and the public. Let them judge whether such a paper is worthy of support, whether the false pretences on which it seeks to secure public favour are not in themselves sufficient to make all honest men eschew it."

The new daily survived these attacks. Knighton, it is true, did not long remain the editor, but he tells us that when he left Calcutta it was still flourishing with all the vigour of early youth.

VII

A PIONEER OF STEAM NAVIGATION IN INDIA

THERE are four names which stand out pre-eminent as those of pioneers of steam navigation in India—Waghorn, Taylor, Wilson and Johnston.

Of these men, Waghorn is deservedly the best known, if only on account of his success, notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, in establishing the Red Sea route to England.

Taylor might have become equally famous had he not been murdered by Arabs while on a journey from India to England with a view to testing the Euphrates route.

Wilson, of the Bombay Marine, commanded the *Hugh Lindsay* in her maiden voyage from Bombay to Suez, and to him belongs the honour of being the first steam navigator of the Red Sea.

Captain James Henry Johnston was the first person to put forth a detailed scheme for steam communication between England and India. He was the first to steam a vessel between the two countries and the first to take a steamer up the Ganges as far as Allahabad. His career, although less adventurous than those of Waghorn and Taylor, is an interesting one. He was born in 1788. He entered the Royal Navy and fought at Trafalgar.

When in the Royal Navy he took up the new subject of steam navigation. In consequence he attended the meeting convened in London in 1822 by Mr. Joliffe for the purpose of forming a General Steam Navigation Company. Johnston was appointed a member of the preliminary committee, and his enquiries in this capacity led him to assert the feasibility of steam communication between England and India, via the Red Sea. He published a prospectus detailing a scheme for ten double voyages annually by six steamers of 400 tons, each fitted with 250 h.-p. engines. He estimated that the cost of constructing these and providing coal depots along the route would be £120,000, and that the annual charges would be £70,000, including the mess of twenty-five passengers on each trip. Experience proved that his estimate was very accurate except in the matter of coal, which cost one-third more than he anticipated.

The Steam Navigation Association declined to consider the Red Sea route. Johnston therefore severed his connection with the Association and turned to merchants in England who traded with India. These agreed to support him if their friends in Bengal would do likewise.

Johnston accordingly set out for Calcutta where he proposed to form a Steam Company, either associated with, or independent of, a Company in London, to raise the sum of £33,000 to purchase two 400-ton steamers, each having 250 h.-p. engines. These he proposed to run between India and Suez to connect with steamers of an English Company plying between Alexandria and England. Johnston, although unable to raise this sum, met with a certain amount of success. At a meeting held in Calcutta on the 5th November, 1823, it was proposed

to invite subscriptions, to the extent of one lac of rupees, to be given as a premium to any British individual or Company who performed, before the end of 1826, two voyages from England to Bengal and two from Bengal to England, not averaging above seventy days for each of the four voyages. If only two voyages were performed, the successful claimant would get half a lac of rupees.

On the 17th December another meeting was held in Calcutta, at which it was announced that over 62,000 rupees had been subscribed, of which the Government of India had contributed 20,000, the King of Oudh 2000, and his Prime Minister 500.

As Bombay refused to contribute, thinking that the scheme was of no use to that Presidency, the final total of the subscription did not quite reach 70,000.

Having met with this moderate degree of success, Johnston returned to England in command of the ship *Eliza*. On his arrival he was surprised to find that a "Captain J. E. Johnson, of the Hon'ble East India Company's Service," had issued a pamphlet referring to the proceedings in Calcutta and inviting the formation of an "Indian Steam Packet Company." On the appearance of Johnston, his rival thought fit to retire gracefully!

On the 22nd February, 1825, the *Enterprise* was launched from the dockyard of Messrs. Gordon and Company at Deptford. This vessel was owned largely by London East India agency houses and designed to steam to Calcutta, via the Cape. It had three masts, and was adapted for sailing. Johnston was given command of the *Enterprise*, which was capable of a speed of from five to seven knots, according to her depth in the

water. As the voyage to Calcutta was some 12,000 miles, it was obvious, before the vessel started, that she could not win the premium offered for a voyage in seventy days. She was fitted up with a double tier of cabins, but, strange to say, the full complement of passengers was not secured. Those who ventured to take the voyage complained of the great heat and the coal dust.

Johnston wanted to have three coal depots on the route, but the owners of the vessel provided only one, with the result that, out of the 103 days during which the vessel was actually travelling, no fewer than forty were under sail. The vessel was overloaded with coal. This was stocked in every possible place, even on the boilers. The coal placed on these caught fire and the vessel narrowly escaped destruction. The labour of shifting the coal that was placed in tanks near the flues was so severe that some of the men engaged in it fainted as the result of their exertions. The *Enterprise* left London on the 6th August and Falmouth on the 16th.

She spent from the 17th to the 20th September at the Island of St. Thomas to shift coal and clean the boilers. By the 29th September the coal supply had almost given out, so the fires were extinguished and the *Enterprise* went under canvas to Cape Town, which was reached on the 12th October. She did not leave that port until the 21st, as coaling was much hindered by rough seas. The vessel anchored off Calcutta on the 8th December, 113 days and 17 hours after leaving Falmouth. The length of time taken over the voyage was a great disappointment to all concerned, and the shareholders were glad to sell the ship to the East India Company for

£40,000. She was very useful to the Company on account of the Burmese war. She set out for Rangoon on the 7th January, 1826. On reaching his destination, Johnston, who continued to command the *Enterprise*, found that hostilities had ceased by the Treaty of Melloon. The despatch announcing this had been sent off from Rangoon on the 10th January by H.M.S. *Champion*. Duplicate despatches were sent by the *Enterprise* on the 14th, and Johnston was able to deliver them in Calcutta on the evening of the 19th, three days before the *Champion* reached Saugor Island. The comparatively speedy journey of Johnston saved the Government over six lacs by preventing them from transmitting stores and entering into fresh contracts for transports.

The *Enterprise* under Johnston's command did a lot of useful work on the Bengal side before she was made over to the Bombay Government on the 6th April, 1829. Johnston relinquished the command on that date and henceforth was employed as Superintendent of the Company's Steam Vessels in Bengal. Meanwhile, the subscribers to the premium offered at the meeting held in Calcutta in November, 1823, voted that half the sum be given to Johnston in recognition of his work in promoting steam navigation between England and India.

In 1825 David Scott, Commissioner of the North-East Frontier, called attention to the necessity of building steamers to navigate the Brahmaputra to convey troops and supplies to Assam. The Court of Directors accordingly sent out two pairs of 25 h.-p. engines made by Maudesley. On receipt of these, two steamers, the *Hoogly* and *Brahmaputra*, were built at Calcutta by the Howrah

Company and Kyd and Company respectively. These were flat-bottomed and about 100 feet long and 18 feet across at the greatest breadth. They were launched in 1828, but before they could be employed on the Brahmaputra, Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General. He immediately came to the conclusion that these vessels could be more profitably employed on the Ganges.

Before the opening of the East India Railway, that river was the great highway between Calcutta and Upper India. The road journey by palanquin was much more rapid than that made in a budgerow on the winding river, but the latter route was infinitely more comfortable, and was, therefore, usually selected. In those days time was not of much account. The servants of the Company were not overworked and were permitted to proceed in the most leisurely fashion to take up new appointments. Ten miles a day against and fourteen with the stream was the minimum rate of progression that the Company expected of its servants who travelled by budgerow. Joining time, that is the time allowed to an officer for travelling from one appointment to another, was measured by the month. In 1842 the joining time for a military officer proceeding from Calcutta was: To Benares, two and a half months; to Allahabad, three; to Meerut, five; and to Ludhiana nine months.

Evidence of the fact that railways have cheapened travel as well as accelerated it, is afforded by the following table of allowances for budgerows and boats made by the Company to its military officers when travelling on duty:

	Sonat rupees per mensem.
To a Colonel	930
To a Lieutenant-Colonel, Physician-General, or Chief Surgeon	630
To a Major or Head Surgeon	360
To a Captain, Paymaster, or Regimental Surgeon	180
To a Subaltern	100
To a Cadet	80
To a Conductor	50

Thus it cost the Company Rs.2,790 to transfer a Colonel from Calcutta to Allahabad, to say nothing of his salary during three months of enforced idleness.

The expense of moving troops about in Bengal was very great. It cost nearly half a lac of rupees to send an European regiment from Calcutta to Cawnpore by water, apart from the pay of officers and men during the three months occupied by the journey.

Considerations such as these led Bentinck to call upon H. T. Prinsep, the Secretary in the General Department, to draw up a memorandum showing what economies could be effected by the substitution of Government steamers for country boats on the Ganges. In the course of his memorandum, Prinsep pointed out that in 1827 an entire battalion had been employed to convey from Agra to Calcutta 38 lacs of rupees, the amount of the Gwalior loan, adding that had this been on a steamer a havildar's guard would have sufficed as escort.

Bentinck also called on Johnston to report on the feasibility of employing these two new steamers on the Ganges. Receiving a favourable reply it was decided

to send one of them to Allahabad, and then on to Cawnpore if feasible, on an experimental trip. Johnston was placed in charge of the steamer. In order to determine which was the faster steamer, they were given trials between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. The *Hoogly*, having shown the greater speed, was the steamer selected. The *Hoogly* left Calcutta on the 8th September and reached Allahabad on the 1st October.

The journey was a very slow one, owing to several causes. In the first place the *Hoogly's* rudder was faulty, then many of the native vessels which were sent on ahead with coal were late in arriving at their destination. Again, the river was not properly charted. The steamer only grounded twice on the upward voyage, but in shallow water her progress was very slow. On arrival at Allahabad it was found that the water higher up the river was so shallow in parts as to make it undesirable to pursue the voyage further. The *Hoogly* accordingly left Allahabad on the 3rd October and reached Calcutta on the 17th. On the return journey she grounded badly a little way below Allahabad, notwithstanding that at this part of the journey Johnston was given an European sergeant well acquainted with the river who went ahead of the steamer in a small boat. This accident lost the steamer nearly a day. As the result of this detention Johnston ordered that in future in shallow water only one boiler should be used, which reduced the speed to less than three miles an hour, and that whenever the water shoaled less than two fathoms the anchors should be dropped and a small boat sent on ahead to take soundings.

This trip showed that the journey by steamer to Allahabad was a feasible proposition, but that if it was

to be a paying concern the steamer would have to act as a tug to an accommodation boat, since the steamer itself could afford only limited accommodation.

Johnston was then ordered to conduct experiments in the use of steamers as tugs. As this was found practicable, a regular service of Government steam transport was established. Johnston was appointed head of the service under the title of Superintendent of Government Steamers. He held this post for more than twenty years.

St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore, contains the following memorial to Johnston :

" In memory of James Henry Johnston, Commander R.N., Controller of the Steam Department, H.E.I.C.S., who died at sea near the Cape of Good Hope on the 5th of May, 1851, aged 63. After twelve years of varied service in the Royal Navy his career of usefulness in India commenced in 1817. He conducted to Calcutta the first steamship, the *Enterprise*, in 1825, and the River Steamers, Steam Foundry, Dockyard, and School of Engineers, all originated and organized by himself, are lasting monuments of his active talents, fertile resource, public zeal, and unwearied personal energy. His end was perfect peace. ' Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth : yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours.' "

VIII

GANGES STEAMERS

THE first Ganges steamers were made of iron. They were of 200 tons burthen and provided with two engines of 30 h.-p. each. The steamers were also rigged to carry sail. They were 120 feet long and 22 broad, and when fully laden drew 3½ feet of water.

On account of their light draught, which was necessitated by the many shallows in the river, the Company's steamers had little accommodation for freight and none for passengers. Consequently these latter were carried on a barge, which was known as a flat or accommodation boat. The steamer thus acted the part of tug.

The flat was of the same dimensions as the steamer. It was like the conventional Noah's Ark, but with innumerable venetianed windows and a flat roof which served as promenade deck. Above the hold were the saloon and cabins, which occupied practically the whole of the flat. Over these was the awning-covered deck. The dining-room extended the whole way across the flat, and was 12½ feet wide. The height was 6½ feet between the beams and 5½ feet below them. In front of the dining-room were the third-class cabins. The

dimensions of each of these were 8 feet by 8 feet by 6 feet 3 inches. Behind the dining-room were the first and second-class cabins. The area of the former was 12 feet by 8 feet 4 inches, and of the latter 9 feet by 8 feet 6 inches.

In addition to the usual hawsers connecting the steamer and the flat there was a stout beam of wood 25 feet long, 6 inches deep, and a foot broad, secured by chains to a mast at the stern of the tug and to another at the bow of the flat. This was to prevent the flat colliding with the steamer when the latter ran aground. When this happened the flat would gently sheer alongside the tug. The beam was also used as a passage from one craft to the other. It cost about Rs.1,20,000 to build a steamer with its attendant barge. The steamer *Hoogly* burned coal on her maiden voyage, but this form of fuel proved so costly that wood was substituted on subsequent journeys. In consequence a belt of land on either side of the Ganges became denuded of trees, and then coal had again to be used. The steamer's consumption of coal was a little under eight hundredweight per hour. In 1842 the expense of each trip from Calcutta to Allahabad and back was about £1300. The coaling stations were Katwa, Berhampur, Rajmahal, Colgong, Monghyr, Bar, Dinapore, Ghazipur, Benares and Mirzapur. Coals were taken on board every second or third day, the Commanders being instructed to ship only a small quantity at each station to prevent the supply at any place becoming exhausted.

Needless to say, Bentinck caused these steamers to be run with a strict regard for economy. Under the Superintendent or Controller of Government Steam

Vessels were local agents. These were required to work gratuitously. Their duty was to take charge of packages conveyed by the steamers, and to act as forwarding agents for stations at a distance from the Ganges. As each agent had to deal with only two steamers a month, his duties were not onerous. After Bentinck's time the local agents received small salaries. The posts were sought after as they led to profitable agency business. The steamer and the flat had each its separate crew, consisting of a Commander, a mate and about twenty lascars, with a guard of eight or ten sepoys. The Commander of the steamer was paid Rs.300 per mensem, while the skipper of the flat received only Rs.250, but the latter used to make a profit as caterer for the passengers. As canals were non-existent in the days of the Company there was sufficient water in the Ganges to allow of the passage of steamers as far upstream as Allahabad at all seasons of the year. In the hot weather, however, the Bhagiratti became so shallow in parts that the steamer had to proceed via the Sunderbands and the Jalanghi River, a route longer by 300 miles. Although the steamer travelled only during the hours of daylight, her fires were never totally extinguished, being slightly fed throughout the night. At the first blush of dawn she got under weigh.

The Ganges steamers carried both freight and passengers. Originally the freight charges were fixed. The rates between Calcutta and Allahabad were Rs.1-8 per cubic foot up-stream and 8 annas down-stream, provided the weight of the package did not exceed 35 lb. the cubic foot. If this limit were exceeded the charge was by weight at 10 pies per lb. up-stream and 3⅓ pies down-stream.

To this had to be added a fee for booking and landing parcels, which varied from 4 annas to 1 rupee, according to the size of the package. The demand for tonnage soon became greater than the capacity of the steamer; this led to the sale by auction of the space available for cargo on each ship.

In March, 1839, two thousand cubic feet of tonnage were put up to auction. The prices obtained early in the sale were high, one lot being disposed of at the rate of Rs.3-10 per cubic foot. The average price, however, was about Rs.3.

The following month the requisitions for accommodation did not exceed the tonnage available, and therefore no auction was held. At the sale in the following June the prices obtained varied from Rs.3-6 to Rs.2-12 the cubic foot. In August the bidding ran high, the sums offered ranging from Rs.4 to Rs.5 per cubic foot. Thus it cost as much to send goods from Calcutta to Allahabad as it did to transport them between Calcutta and London.

In consequence of the great demand for tonnage, the Government decided to build special cargo boats. When these were completed, the following Notification, dated the 19th June, 1841, was issued by the Marine Board: "Carriages, buggies, palankeens and packages of all dimensions will be received as freight, charged, for whatever distances, at the rate of 1 anna per lb., excepting on light goods, which weigh less than 24 lb. per cubic foot, when the former charge of Rs.1-8 per cubic foot will be made, and no package, however small, will be received at a less charge than Rs.1-8. Booking charges will be made in the same rates as formerly."

As regards passenger fares, the charge for a cabin for the journey up-stream was six, five, or four annas a mile, according to the class of the cabin. The down-stream rates were one-third lower. Thus the fares from Calcutta to Allahabad, 800 miles by river, were Rs.300, Rs.250 and Rs.200 for a first, second or third-class cabin. The cabins were not furnished, but each was provided with a bath-room. The above charges did not include food, but entitled the passenger to take one Indian servant and 5 cwt. of baggage without extra payment. For each additional servant the passenger had to pay at the rate of 1 anna a mile. Thus it cost Rs.50 to take a second retainer from Calcutta to Allahabad.

As the steamers only sailed once a month, and as the passenger accommodation on a flat was very limited, there was at some seasons a great rush for passages. It often happened that all the cabins were booked two or three months before the departure of a vessel. In such circumstances the person who was not in a position to make arrangements some time beforehand had to travel by bundgerow or palanquin unless he could induce the Controller of Government Steamers to give him a letter authorizing the Commander of the vessel to accommodate him on the steamer itself, if that were possible.

"The rules and regulations to be observed on board the Government accommodation vessels," directed the Commander of the boat to provide for passengers at a charge of Rs.3 a day, "breakfast at half-past 8; biscuits or bread and cake at noon; dinner at 3; tea and coffee at 6." Thus the passengers had to go supperless to bed unless they ordered and paid for an extra meal.

Another rule ran: "Intermediate meals or refreshments must be paid for according to prices fixed and exhibited on the card, which is to be suspended for general information in a conspicuous part of the dining-room. Every article must be paid for at the time of delivery and the steward is strictly prohibited from supplying any article if not paid for at the time. He is provided with plenty of small silver change, and with tokens instead of copper, if preferred." It would thus appear that the "chit" system, now so characteristic of India, was not then in vogue. Or it may have been that the Company made it a rule to trust no man! The messing fees had to be paid in advance. As the journey from Calcutta to Allahabad was estimated to take twenty-five days, the passenger had, before embarkation, to deposit Rs.75 for his food.

Wines and spirits were supplied on board at charges about double the rate the same beverages could be obtained at Calcutta. Thus the Commander of the flat derived a considerable income in his capacity of *restaurateur*.

Some of the rules that had to be observed on board afford rather amusing reading: "The servants are required to be always clean and dressed with their turbans. European or Christian servants are never permitted to appear without their jackets and shoes; they are required to keep their hair cut and are not permitted to wear it long and bushy. Each servant when attending at table is required to carry a clean napkin in his hand."

Mohammedan servants were allowed to feed with the ship's crew at a charge of 4 annas a day. Hindus were not permitted to cook their food on board; when the

steamer anchored for the night they were taken on shore in a boat and given an opportunity to prepare and eat their meal. For a Christian servant one rupee per diem had to be paid as messing charges. The voyage from Calcutta to Allahabad took about four days longer than does that from Bombay to London nowadays in times of peace.

Life on a flat was not unlike that on an ocean-going liner. Mrs. Parks, wife of the Collector of Government Customs at Allahabad, who made the voyage up the Ganges in 1836, writes from the accommodation flat: "Some of the passengers are playing at chess, others reading novels, some pacing the deck under the awning, all striving to find something wherewith to amuse themselves."

The voyage along the Ganges was, however, not so wearisome as one of similar duration on the high seas. There was no fear of sea-sickness, passengers were not annoyed by the throbbing of the engines, there was great variety of scenery, the stops were frequent and passengers had therefore opportunities of taking exercise on the river-bank. As the steamer's progress was slower than that of the dâk runner, passengers used to have letters and newspapers addressed to them at various places on the route. Everybody on board was acquainted with everyone else before the voyage began, so that there was no period at the beginning when the passengers stood aloof from one another.

Mrs. Parks, quoted above, writes: "We have a very pleasant party on board, most of whom are going to Allahabad. The vessel is a good one; the accommodation good, the food also. It is very expensive, but, as it saves a

dâk trip this hot weather, or two or three months' voyage in a country vessel, it is more agreeable."

Ants, mosquitoes, flies, cockroaches and rats, however, abounded in the flat and prevented the voyage from being so pleasant as it would otherwise have been.

IX

THE PUNKA

THE punka bears the stamp of the Orient. It is a product of the Torrid Zone, of sun-baked lands, of countries inhabited by people who hold "'Tis better to lie than to sit, to sit than to stand, to stand than to walk." There does not exist a Westerner who would not walk many miles in preference to pulling a punka for six hours, while there is scarce an Indian who would not prefer pulling a punka all night to walking five *kos!*

The hand-pulled punka is a contrivance possible only in countries where patience is abundant and labour cheap. It is no exaggeration to assert that while these lines are being penned hundreds of thousands of men are pulling punkas; each man is employed on one punka. A dozen men can pull six punkas more or less continuously; the same number can work an engine that can put thousands of electric fans in motion simultaneously. Thus many men do badly that which a few could do well. Such is the East!

The learned authors of *Hobson Jobson* have rescued from the depths of oblivion a passage in which it is asserted that the hanging punka came into existence during the reign of the Caliph Mansur (A.D. 753-774). This palliative

EUROPEANS IN CONVERSATION
BEING FANNED BY A FLAPPER, BEFORE PUNKAS WERE
SUSPENDED IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

Notice that the man with the flapper is wearing no shoes.

Notice also in this and other pictures the barn-like appearance of the room, and the shape of the glasses to protect lights from draught and insects.

The picture is from a drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

of heat, however, did not find its way into Hindustan until ten centuries later.

There is no authentic record of how or when it came into use; but, as Busteed has pointed out, it is possible to fix within very narrow limits the date of the introduction of the hanging punka into India. The contrivance was certainly not known in the time of Warren Hastings (1772–1784), for no mention is made of it in any of the contemporary descriptions of life in Calcutta. Thus the author of *Hartly House* states that "a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere" was created by boys "with flippers and fans" standing behind those seated at dinner.

It is a French seaman—Captain de Grandpré—who first mentions the hanging punka in India. In his *Voyage to Bengal, made in* 1789–90, he writes: "To chase away the flies and occasion a free circulation of air, many houses have a large fan from the ceiling over the eating-table, of a square form, and balanced on an axle fitted to the upper part of it. A servant, standing at one end of the room, puts it in motion by means of a cord, which is fastened to it, in the same manner as he would ring a bell. Besides this, there is a servant behind the chair of each individual with another kind of fan made of a branch of the palm tree. The stalk serves for a handle, and the leaves, fastened together and cut into a round or square shape, give it the appearance of a flag. By these contrivances a little fresh air is procured."

Thus the hanging punka began to be used in India between 1784 and 1789. The reason for employing the hanging punka and the flapper simultaneously was that

the former gave very little wind because it had no frill and was suspended by quite short ropes.

To him having an inquisitive mind, the question occurs: How did the hanging punka find its way into India? Was it an importation, or was it invented a second time after an interval of ten centuries?

According to a contributor to the *Calcutta Chronicle* in 1792, this appliance was originally introduced into India by the Portuguese. The writer goes farther, asserting that at the time of which he writes the hanging punka was actually in use in Spain. It is permissible to doubt the accuracy of both these statements in the absence of the evidence on which they are based.

A more attractive story is that which makes the Indian punka the invention of an Eurasian clerk who had to work in a small stuffy room. Being driven frantic by heat and mosquitoes on an unusually sultry day, he slung to a beam overhead half of the camp table at which he was writing, attached a rope thereto and made the office peon pull it! The fact that the earliest punkas were much the shape of a fold of a camp-table lends support to this story.

Whether an importation or a new invention the hanging punka soon came into general use; but for many years it seems to have been confined to the dining-room. Captain Williamson, in his *East India Vade Mecum*, published in 1810, mentions that punkas are suspended in most dining-rooms in India. It may, perhaps, be urged that, as Williamson's personal experience was confined to a period prior to March, 1801, when he left India, his book must have been to some extent behind the times on the day on which it was published. Be this as it may, it is

a fact that in 1810 punkas were suspended only in dining-rooms. Sir Charles D'Oyly's illustrations to *The European in India*, which appeared in 1813, show the punka being swung over the heads of people at tiffin, while persons conversing together in the drawing-room are cooled by a man with a flapper.

So long as the swinging punka was used only during meals, it was not necessary to retain men solely for the purpose of swinging it. Williamson's list of *Naukar Chaukar*, although a long one, does not include a punka coolie. According to him, although the business of the *kalassi* "is properly speaking confined either to what relates to camp equipage or the management of the sails and rigging on board a budjrow," that individual is usually "an excellent domestic, not hesitating to perform a variety of services about the house, such as swinging the punka (or great fan) suspended in most dining halls."

The punka described by de Grandpré had no frill. To-day the frill is the all-important part of the apparatus. It is possible to trace the transformation through its various stages. As plain boards, whether painted or whitewashed, offended people of refined taste some men had pictures painted on their punkas. One of these paintings is reproduced in *Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days*.

Writing in 1849, Colesworthy Grant says that a few punkas are "garnished with paintings which exhibit a considerable independence of style from the schools of art, either ancient or modern. But at the residence of a gentleman in Calcutta I have seen an exception to this violation of taste in a very pleasing design—the work

of Mr. Wm. Horne,* one amongst the few artists of estimation who have had their locality in the city of palaces. The design consists of a group of cupids who, with fan in hand, are humanely engaged in dispensing the favours of Æolus upon all of mortal kind who place themselves within their reviving influence."

Another method of ornamentation was to cover the punka with coloured cloth. Lady Calcott, the author of *Little Arthur's History of England*, tells us that in 1810 it was usual in South India to cover punkas in this manner.

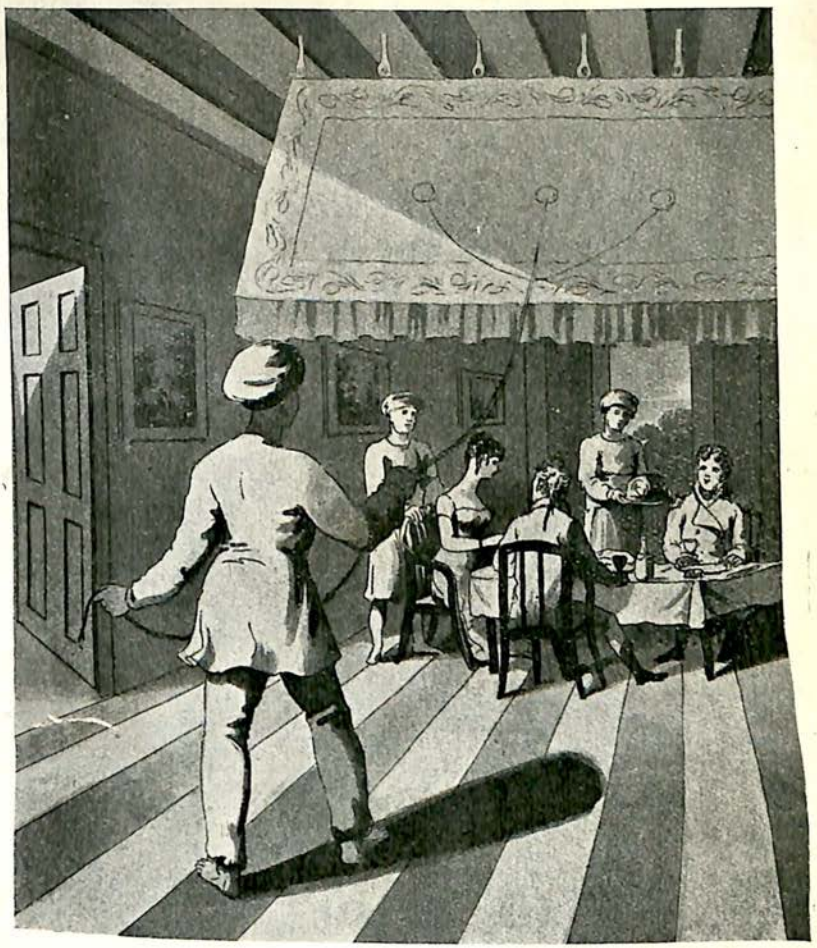
D'Oyly's illustrations, which are descriptive of life in Bengal, show that in 1813 some punkas had frills by way of ornament. In one of his pictures we see a family sitting at tiffin under a punka with a frill about nine inches broad, suspended from a frame some six feet deep; this last is painted white, with a border of coloured flowers or some conventional pattern. Such a punka had to be hung well above the level of a man's head, as a blow from it would suffice to stun the recipient. The punka was accordingly suspended from the ceiling by six separate cords, each barely a foot long. Thus it must have moved much as though it were hinged to the ceiling. The man pulling used to stand in the room. It was not until a later period that the device of passing the cord through a hole in the wall was resorted to. This innovation was appreciated by everyone. The coolie had no longer to stand, decently clad, when at work; he could squat, sit, stand or lie according to inclination; those fanned by the punka were glad to be rid of the company of the coolie; the rope-seller was delighted at the increased sale of rope.

* This is probably a misprint for Robert Home.

FAMILY AT BREAKFAST UNDER THE PUNKA.

Notice (1) the short ropes by which the punka is suspended; (2) the narrow frill of the punka; (3) the punka puller stands in the room. He, like the other servants, is barefooted.

The illustration is from a drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.



The writer has not been able to discover the name of the inventor of that rope-and-labour-saving device—the punka wheel or pulley. It was in use in 1849, because Colesworthy Grant gives a drawing of one in *An Anglo-Indian Domestic Sketch,* published in that year.

Sometimes a piece was cut out of the upper part of the frame to allow the punka to swing on both sides of and below the great chandeliers that used to be a feature of the houses of the wealthy and still survive in rajas' palaces.

Bishop Heber, writing in 1825, describes the punkas of his time as "large frames of wood covered with white cotton and looking not unlike enormous fire boards, hung from the ceilings of the principal apartments." The bishop makes no mention of frills nor does the observant and sprightly Miss Emma Roberts, who, speaking of the year 1835, describes punka frames covered with painted canvas or fluted silk, finished round the edges with gilt moulding. She states that it was then customary to surround the suspensory ropes with scarlet cloth.

Writing of the punka of his time (1849) Colesworthy Grant says it is "constructed of a coarse kind of cloth, or flimsy canvas, termed *dosootie* or *two threads,* stretched over a light frame of wood, and generally whitewashed, with a neat linen fringing attached to the lower part.

"Some are covered with a coarse description of light brown silk, termed *Tusser,* with fringing of the same material. . . . The cordage . . . is neatly covered with white, red or green cloth." It is thus clear that as late as 1849 the frill was not an essential part of the punka, but merely one of the methods of beautifying the uncouth apparatus for cooling the heated brow.

The breeze-producing capacity of the frill was apparently not realized until after the Mutiny. The illustrations to Atkinson's *Curry and Rice*, which appeared in 1856, show the breadth of the punka frame to have been about three feet, but the frill was still only some nine inches in depth. By 1850, however, the punka no longer hung close to the ceiling; the drawings of both Grant and Atkinson show that it was suspended by long ropes arranged after the manner in vogue to-day.

Of recent years the frill has grown at the expense of the frame. Twenty-five years ago they were usually of equal breadth. In most modern punkas the frame has shrunk to a pole to which the all-important frill is attached. Notwithstanding these alterations the punka of to-day is substantially the same as it was in the time of de Grandpré.

For more than eighty years there has been talk of machine-pulled punkas.

Miss Emma Roberts writes as long ago as 1835: "When machinery shall be more extensively introduced into India the residents will be enabled to keep punkas going in every room."

Fourteen years later, Colesworthy Grant says: "Several attempts have, I believe, been made to effect a self-moving punka for the night, but . . . the matter remains a desideratum."

Since then the punka-pulling machine has been sufficiently improved to allow of its being worked with success. It has been, and still is being, used in a few Government offices. But it is unwieldy and noisy and is apt to get out of order, The result is that the machine has not found an extensive market. Where it has not

been displaced by the electric fan the punka is still hand-pulled and still swings over the exile at a rate which he deems too slow, but which the coolie thinks too fast. Coolies do the pulling, but Europeans supply the motive force, even as happens in the administrative machinery of the country.

Those who are fond of drawing parallels cannot fail to have noticed the strange resemblance between the Government and the punka. This, perhaps, explains in part the annual exodus to the hills. It may be that the powers that be cannot bear the sight of this lowly species of the genus makeshift.

Even as the punka does not diminish the temperature of the room in which it moves to and fro, but, nevertheless, makes the heat far less oppressive, so does the Indian Government not attempt to root up the ills to which this country is subject, it merely mitigates them. For example, it does not make a clean sweep of insanitary hamlets; to such it applies the Village Sanitation Act and doles out a few rupees for the cleansing of wells. The mechanism of both the punka and the Government is so simple that it rarely happens that either gets out of order.

X

SHIGRAMPO

IT is difficult to praise *Shigrampo* as a literary production, but it is impossible not to admire the industry of an anonymous writer who produced more than three hundred closely printed pages of verse in which he sang of "The Life and Adventures of Shigrampo, Cadet in the Service of the Hon. East India Company on the Bengal Establishment, from the first dawning of his military mania to his retirement on the half-pay of Lieutenant, after sixteen years' service in the hygeian climate of India."

The work was printed in 1821 at the Government Gazette Office, Calcutta, and was, the author tells us, written to afford the Hon'ble Court of Directors "some few moments of amusement," and to point out to "their discriminating minds" the "present deteriorated state" of their military service, particularly in regard to the junior ranks, concerning promotion. "What," cries the author in the dedication, "must be the sensations of those who, although passing away in tedious monotony the most valued portion of their lives, are still destined after the long period of 15, 16 and even 20 years, to find that they still remain but Subalterns."

The book, alas, had not the desired effect. On the contrary, within seven years of its appearance that

arch-economist, Lord William Bentinck, had become Governor-General and issued the famous Half Batta Regulation, which was perhaps to some extent responsible for the Mutiny in 1857.

But, although the author did not attain his object, he has left behind him a faithful description of life in India a century ago. The account of the voyage to India, via the Cape, which occupies one hundred pages, is perhaps the most detailed that exists.

Shigram's father was a tradesman, living at Durham, who desired his son to rise in life, and consequently took him to London, where he had no difficulty in securing a nomination for a cadetship in the Company's army. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century cadetships were not very eagerly sought after, being regarded rather in the light of refuges for the destitute. Having secured the nomination, the father took his son to a firm of outfitters who soon rigged up young Shigram for his appearance before the Court of Directors.

> Now three Directors form'd a Quorum,
> And Shigram Po appeared before 'em :
> Like Peacock strutting up the room,
> Equipped in his Cadet's costume.
> The coat he wore, of scarlet stuff,
> At any rate had *cloth* enough ;
> Hanging a foot below his knees,
> Fitting, to say the least, with *ease ;*
> Bedeck'd with buttons fully known,
> From *Lions* on them, with a *Crown ;*
> Which, tho' they have by *ignorant* souls,
> Been taken for *monkeys* carrying coals,
> And called by some, with equal spleen,
> *Baboons*, with each a Soup Tureen ;
> Were emblematic . . .

His waistcoat, and his breeks below,
Were kerseymere, as white as *snow;*
And tho' his stockings had, 'tis true,
Too great a tinge of *Indigo;*
They *neamoins* set off the more
The silver buckles which he wore;
Which, when contrasted with the blue,
Cast a *chaste* tinge upon the shoe.
And whilst a *silver* hilt *épée,*
Hung from his belt quite *dégagé,*
A new round Hat, cockade and feather,
Gave a most *martial* look together;
Yet tho' it might not make the show,
Or look so *rich* as a *Chako,*
It stuck much tighter to the Crown
Than half the hats of *more* renown,
And while it simplified his dress,
Was more convenient, *costing* less!

The cadet's red coat was decorated neither by epaulettes nor by lace, to the great disgust of the wearers.

The cadets received 5s. 10d. a day, and were bound to serve as such for five years, unless an ensigncy fell vacant earlier; this, in fact, invariably happened.

Having been approved by the Court, Shigram went to see the Secretary to the India House to pay

The price for his accommodation,
'Id est' for room to swing his cot
Down in the steerage, envied spot.

(For this luxury he had to pay £55.)

From the Secretary Shigram learnt
. . . oh! gen'rous men,
The Court had given him *ten pounds ten,*
A *bounty,* they no doubt intended,
Should on his fit-out be expended,
But which he found by quick degrees
Vanished in charges and in fees.

On the stage coach from London to Portsmouth Shigram met another cadet who was proceeding to India on the same ship—the *Nelson*. At Portsmouth they had to put up at an inn at which the charges were exorbitant. For several days the wind was not favourable for sailing.

> At length the wish'd for wind arose,
> And put an end to Portsmouth's woes.

"Rejoiced the wind had kindly veered," the passengers collected on the beach, where they met the Captain, who took them all through pouring rain in an open boat to the *Nelson*. On arriving alongside, chairs were lowered to receive the ladies.

We will not tarry to describe the getting under weigh, or to reproduce the graphic account of the sight that the steerage (in which Shigram and other cadets were berthed) presented as soon as the vessel got into rough sea. Let us glance at the passengers. Of these there were thirty, or more,

> Who've never met perhaps before, and
> Are penn'd like felons in the Hulks,
> *Obliged* to bear each other's sulks;
> Doomed to associate, *scot and lot*,
> If they approved their friends or not.
>
> And first the writer, full of knowledge,
> Glad to escape from Hertford College.
>
> * * *
>
> Next Barristers prepar'd for pleading
> With Erksine's *wit* and Garrow's *breeding*.
>
> * * *
>
> Attornies, too, who when admitted,
> Are very rare indeed outwitted.
>
> * * *

Parsons, determined to restrain
All vice, and show all pleasure vain.
Next Surgeons, some of them M.D.'s,
But few of whom have touched the *fees*.

* * *

Cadets in turn, unhappy station,
Rejoicing in self-transportation.

* * *

Free Traders who are fully bent
To sell their ventures *cent* per *cent*.

* * *

Eurasians to their friends returning,
With English manners and English learning.
Last, but not least, are
The ladies, seeking nothing less,
Than true *connubial* happiness,
A blessing, e'en across the Main,
Not *quite* so easy to obtain.
While others, lost in fancied dream:
Of *pearly* sands and golden realms,
Resolve to issue their *Juwaubs*,
And marry no one but *Nuwaubs !*

The ladies on board were Mrs. Drawback and her two daughters, and Miss Monsoon and Miss Mysore.

The Misses Drawback were going to India.
As Mams thought they had better roam
Than die, *perhaps*, old Maids at home ;
Where men considered it so rash
To think of Hymen without cash,
That many an accomplished fair,
Saw little hope of marrying there.
As regards Miss Monsoon !
For sure a Voyage to the East,
Possess'd far greater charms at least,
Than the vile trade of mantua making,
Which she was wisely now forsaking ;
Where she had toil'd, for days and nights,
In decorating pampered frights.

* * *

But Miss Mysore, it would appear,
Had graced a far superior sphere.

* * *

She was a Country Curate's daughter,
And ne'er had wish'd to cross the water,
But that she felt a generous fear,
That Father's sixty pounds a year,
Had proved but little calculated,
T' have fed, far less, t'have educated,
Two sons and many daughters more,
Besides the eldest Miss Mysore.

Thus these ladies were off to the happy land where

They might select their own protectors,
Amongst the Judges and Collectors,
And if they wished might e'en aspire
To marry in a rank still higher;
Perhaps, oh charming words to utter,
Be *Burrah Beebees* of Calcutta!

The ship stayed a few days at Funchall, Cape Town and Madras, at all of which places the passengers landed. Needless to say (because it always happens in fiction) the massula boat in which Shigrampo landed at Madras was upset. In consequence he arrived in a forlorn condition at the wretched tavern in Blacktown at which those who had no friends were compelled to put up when the ship was at the port.

While enjoying an afternoon siesta, the griffens had some of their property stolen by a Rumjohnny, as the *khitmatgar* used to be called. At dinner

Each took of Sangaree a Jorum
And then began with Sangarorum.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Sangaree was a favourite beverage on the Madras coast. It was a

mixture of Madeira, lime juice, sugar and spices. When made extra strong the mixture was called Sangarorum. These terms do not occur in *Hobson Jobson*, the authors of which do not appear to have made the acquaintance of Shigrampo.

After a game of billiards, Shigram and his friends retired to rest, when

> Mosquitoes in voracious mood,
> Discover'd soon their English blood.

Thanks to these and the bugs and fleas the griffs awoke in the morning

> With eyes inflamed and cheeks inflated.

Then Shigram bethought him of a letter of recommendation to "Colonel Brass, Commanding Black Troops at Madras." A *bandy* was hired and they drove to the Colonel's garden house, where they found him smoking a hukka. The Colonel enhanced the evil reputation of Madrassis for inhospitality by showing plainly that he was not pleased to see his visitors,

> And very soon the bandy took 'em
> From scenes of plenty and of ease,
> To their old friends, the *bugs* and *fleas !*

Eventually the *Nelson* came to anchor at Kedgeree, and Shigram and his friends proceeded from there in a paunchway and reached Chandpal Ghat on the following day, but not without adventure, for their paunchway was overturned by the tidal bore on the Hughli.

At the Ghat they were surrounded by Rumjohnnies.

> Some were Hulcarruhs, some Sircars,
> Others were Cooks or Khidmatgars,
> Each squabbling to approach the sobs,
> Determined not to take Juwaubs :

Whilst Palankeen stood all prepar'd
And Chattah wallahs too appear'd,
And o'er their melting summits rear'd
Their paper Canopies.

"Sobs" was the old pronunciation of Sahib; the early Englishmen in Bengal invariably sounded long "a" as short "o."

The *chatta,* or umbrella, was a necessity for pedestrians, because *sola topis* had not by that time been invented.

Our griffens selected one Buxoo as their factotum, who showed them the way to Beard's Hotel, which was the best in Calcutta. They had barely set foot in it when they were pestered by *dirzies* desirous of making military uniforms for them.

As they found that the charge for accommodation for one day at Beard's Hotel exceeded their batta for ten days, they deemed it advisable to report themselves to the Town Major, who allotted them quarters in the Fort —one empty room for two cadets—pending their departure to the training school at Baraset. On the following day they moved into the Government quarters with what effects they possessed:

Soon in due order in their rear
Their Welch and Stalker's chests appear
With writing desks and pewter pots,
Trunks, wash-hand stands and canvas cots,
Whilst the poor carriers, hapless fate,
Were bending 'neath the heavy weight
Of their content of six months' clothes,
Blankets, Welsh wigs and fleecy hose,
Dow's Hindoostan, Dundas, of course,
Instructions, too, for Foot and Horse.
With Gilchrist's Grammar in the list,
And Hadley's useful Jargonist,

Containing Moorish words profuse,
Fit only for *Immediate* use,
Red cloth enough for coats ; and lacings
With yellow kerseymere for facings.

Welch, Stalker and Welch, of 134, Leadenhall Street, were the best known of the firms who sold outfits for India. Gilchrist was professor of the Hindustani language at the College at Fort William, and wrote several Grammars. Hadley's *Moor's Grammar* was one of the earliest books of the kind, and the author of *Shigrampo* rightly speaks of it as fit only for immediate use, as it gives the merest rudiments of the language.

After a few days the griffens went to Baraset, which was a school for cadets established by the Company. It has been truly said that "this establishment did more mischief than any Institution ever effected. Every species of vice and insubordination prevailed amongst the young men, and many a once fair name was irreparably destroyed in this Emporium of Vice."

Thus not a man would go to drill,
While jackals could be found to kill ;
Nor would they ever douse their lights
At the established hour at nights,
Carousing till the drum had play'd
And vainly called them to parade.
Where the instructor Sergeant Quoz
With his "Eyes right" and "As you was,"
Remain'd for hours, but not a squad
Could he collect to grace the sod.
And then the Barber, sad affair,
They would not let him thin their hair,
Treating him so, he would not stay,
But *cut* himself and ran away.
By which their hair did so abound 'em
'Twas thicker than the jungle round 'em,
Resembling more the forms of mops
Than decent Regulation crops !

* * *

Besides, they used to scoff and laugh
At both the Commandant and the staff;
Whilst they and men of greater rank
Were often threatened with the tank.

Insubordination led to martial law being introduced into the College. Even this did not prove effective, and the institution was abolished after it had been only a few years in existence.

The author of *Shigrampo* makes the order for the abolition of the College issue after Shigram has been there only ten days. This would appear to be an anachronism, because the context makes it clear that Shigram arrived in India about 1803, while the institution was not abolished until 1811. Shortly after their return to Calcutta, Shigram and his fellow cadets were sent to Dinapore for military training. Their budgerow took six weeks to reach this place, during which period they behaved after the approved manner of griffens, shooting vultures in mistake for turkeys and mynas as snipe.

At Dinapore they

Purchase their Tattoos, mix with more cadets,
Run races—and expend their pay in bets.
Hie to the town to view the sable fair,
Or in the morn to Billiard-room repair.
Then after Tiffen vie to drink the most
Nor think of health or of the liquor's cost,
But vote all duns a bore, in such a clime,
And put them off with 'Come another time!'

But soon, too soon, the drum or thrilling horn
Disturbs their rest, and calls them up at morn,
To tread the turf—and study tactic skill,
Both morn and eve—at exercise or drill.

Thus, months monotonously pass'd,
The first as hopeless, just as prov'd the last,
No hope of change to raise one blest emotion
No signs of War to promise them promotion,
Still poor cadets, not even Ensigns, they
Bemoan their fate, and rue the hateful day,
When lured by *lucre*—by *ambition* led
They sought the *shadow*, whilst the *substance* fled.
At length improved much in the tactic art,
The hookum comes, they're ordered to depart,
Dispersed to Sepoy Corps, but not in fact,
Promoted, but as Ensigns to transact
(With brevet rank) their duty on parade
Until they should be *pukkah* Ensigns made.

Shigram was posted to a regiment stationed at Lucknow.

'Twas Shigram's fortune as it was his boast
To find his Corps all vie to serve him most,
Affording him such proofs of kind devotion,
It *almost* made amends for slow promotion !

At length twelve years in India he had been,
And half the stations of the army'd seen,
From place to place had travelled with his Corps.
Until he'd traversed—half of India o'er,
But ah ! how sad to find, tho' oft he moved,
His *health* fell off, nor had his *purse* improved,
Still poor Lieutenant half way up the list.

At this juncture the Gurkha War broke out, and Shigram's regiment took part in it.

One of the most heroic incidents in that campaign was the covering by the Light Company of the retreat of the main army :

'Twas thus resolved, t'avoid the Goorkah's fire,
By diff'rent routes and parties to retire,
Divided this appear'd their best resource,
To try distract the foe's o'erwhelming force,

A NEWLY-ARRIVED SUBALTERN BEING INTRODUCED TO HIS COLONEL.

Notice that (1) the subalterns are in uniform, while the colonel is in very comfortable attire; (2) the two orderlies, one inside and the other outside the room; (3) the hooka and the hooka burdar preparing a fresh smoke; (4) the beaker of tea beside the colonel.

The illustration is taken from *Tom Raw—The Griffen*, by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

Which had from ev'ry hill and dell increas'd,
The moment that the means t'oppose 'em ceas'd.
Whilst the Light troops were destin'd to remain
To mask their march and gallantly sustain
The brunt against—a far superior foe
Urg'd by success and flush'd with victory's glow,
'Twas there our heroes, gall'd by hosts around,
Still nobly fought, still bravely kept their ground,
Nor yielded either, till they breathless fell,
And left but few—the fatal news to tell.

Alas, my Muse but feebly can pourtray
Their glorious conduct on that cheerless day.
Thy names, oh ! *Thak'ry, Wilson, Stalkart* too,
In honour's records shall receive their due,
Thy grateful country shall thy deeds extol,
And midst her Heroes, too, thy names enrol !

These predictions have not yet been fulfilled. The country seldom remembers the deeds of military officers below the rank of General. No monument exists to the gallant young officers of the Bengal Army who lost their lives on the 27th December, 1814, near the fort of Jumpta. Their names are Lieutenant George M'Intosh Munt, of the 1st N.I., Ensign George Stalkart, of the 30th N.I., and Lieutenants Thomas Thackeray and William M'Murdo Wilson, of the 26th N.I. There is a small monument erected to the memory of William M'Murdo Wilson, in Nahan. This is in a small enclosure with several nameless graves around it. Nahan is the capital of Sirmoor State and is about three miles from the ruins of Jumpta Fort.

After the termination of the war, Shigram's regiment was sent to Agra.

There he soon found his claimants pressing,
His slow promotion quite distressing,
Many a day was Shigram taught
To live on Curry Bhaut,

With the addition of Lamb's fry
Of Brinjals and of Ramtrie,
No Hookah was he doom'd to taste
With Persian fruits and spices chaste,
To him a plain Sagar would be
The very height of luxury.
No *London Market* could he boast,
To raise his spirits, pledge the toast,
Far less could he afford the cheer,
Of English Loll or Hodgson's beer,
Obliged his sorrows to dispel,
With *large* libations from the *well*,
Though he had no reason to despair,
If he could Brandy Paùny share !

After fifteen years of service he found himself Brevet Captain and in poor health. He therefore determined to retire on half lieutenant's pay and forthwith went to Calcutta and took the first ship home.

On board embark'd to his surprise
There Miss Monsoon met his eyes !

* * *

Poor girl, she now returned, too true
Like him—a Brevet Captain, too !
For she had fifteen years remain'd,
Yet not a *nibble* had obtained.

She and Shigram were married on board by the Purse no parson being available.

When they arrived at Durham they found no trace of either Shigram Senior or the sign over the shop.

They soon another shop engaged,
And stuck to *tea* as he'd presaged.
There we must leave them to get thro'
The world as other people do,
For, as a wise man used to say,
Few people stick upon the way !

XI

A JOURNEY THROUGH INDIA IN 1840

TRAVELLING in India has passed through three stages of development. The earliest was that in which men went afoot or mounted on horses or oxen. In the second the rich were carried in palanquins, or proceeded by water in vessels propelled by sail, oar or tow-rope. In the third stage steam was used as a means of propelling vessels, and in some parts the carriage replaced the palanquin. We are now at the fourth stage—the stage of railways. We can see ahead of us the fifth, or aeroplane, stage.

In 1840, when travel was in the infancy of the third stage, a Mr. George Parbury travelled from Calcutta to Bombay via Simla and Karachi. He was merely a visitor to India and, like many of his class, he rushed into print directly he found himself back in England. He was not content with giving the public a narrative of his journey, but had the boldness to call his volume *A Handbook for India and Egypt.* Hardihood often succeeds: a second impression of the handbook was called for within a few months of its publication.

Mr. Parbury travelled as far as Allahabad on one of the Company's Ganges steamers and was, therefore, able to perform the journey from Calcutta in twenty-three days instead of about three months that he would

have taken in a budgerow. As the journey up the Ganges by steamer has already been described, there is no need to follow Mr. Parbury through this part of his travels. Let it suffice that he left Calcutta at 7 a.m. on the 13th August, 1840, and reached Allahabad at 11 a.m. on the 5th September.

From thence he proceeded to Simla by palanquin as far as Bahr and thence in a *jhampan*. Between Allahabad and Cawnpore he travelled along what is now known as the Grand Trunk Road. Parbury speaks of it as "the new grand military line of road." "It is," he writes, "chiefly composed of a peculiar limestone called conker, which, after being laid down for some time, well cemented by the application of water, and beaten together, becomes a solid mass of extreme strength. It is the only soil against which a native's feet are not hardened, and he will willingly wade through water, or toil through mud and jungle to escape it, remarking that it is only fit for iron-shod animals to move on." This is no longer true; since Parbury's time evolution has been at work. Parbury continues: "Convicts are generally employed in making it, sometimes in gangs of above a hundred, who work with the same regularity that marks the manœuvring of a regiment of soldiers, letting all their battering-rams fall at the same moment, with a noise like thunder. European and native superintendents are placed over them. The road is an unvaried flat, with miles and miles, in a direct line, always in view. The cultivation of maize is universal. In the rainy season, the sides of the road are mostly under water, and it is melancholy to witness the devastations caused by the torrents which constantly occur. Chasms of fifty or a

hundred feet in length, constantly forming deep ravines, occasionally stop the passenger and compel him to make a considerable detour before attaining a perfect portion of the main road, whilst of the many bridges in its line, some are found cast down as if by the shock of an earthquake, and masses of brickwork, of apparently imperishable strength, equally levelled by the powers of the flood. These damages are too often allowed to remain a long time unrepaired, which is scarcely pardonable, considering the importance of a perfect communication and the cheapness of labour in India."

Parbury was not impressed by the condition of the village people. "It was," he writes, "the remark of a friend of the author's, that in travelling through the country he could never divest his mind of the idea that he was following the track of an invading army, so utterly ruinous and miserable did all he see appear. Melancholy as this observation is, it is by no means uncalled for." In the course of the journey between Cawnpore and Mainpuri, Parbury changed palanquin bearers nine times, and seven times between Mainpuri and Agra. After leaving Agra he was ferried across the Jumna and proceeded to Aligarh through country "for the most part wild and rough and intersected by many ravines and bridges." From Aligarh to Delhi he travelled along the military road. The road between Delhi and Karnal was "ankle deep in sand." Before reaching Bahr at the foot of the Hills, he passed through Amballa. "At Bahr," writes Parbury, "is a dawk bungalow, and an extensive shed belonging to Mr. M'Donald, of Simla, in which palanquins are housed until again required, for that description of travelling ceases here. The scene

at this place is generally picturesque and amusing, from the many small encampments of servants, bearers, muleteers and other natives, in expectation of their masters or employers, proceeding to or from Simla, with baggage, furniture, and supplies of every conceivable description waiting for transport. An hotel has recently been attached to the dawk bungalow, which is patronized by residents and visitors, and, as it has long been greatly wanted, cannot fail to succeed."

In those days residents at Simla, when they expected a visitor from the plains, used to send down a relay of horses to enable the new-comer to reach Simla in the day. This was also possible in a *jhampan* if twelve bearers were taken instead of the customary eight.

Parbury gives the following description of this conveyance. "A jaumpaun is simply an arm-chair attached to two long bamboo poles, between either extremity of which is a smaller one, well-secured to the others by leather straps, the smaller rest on the shoulders of the men, and the whole has a buoyancy and spring which relieves the passenger of much of the inconvenience which would result from jolting over the rough road were he borne by the aid of the long poles alone. Some are provided with canopies and have curtains round them, but they afford little protection from either sun or rain. The style and manufacture of the vehicles which are let out for hire (for some of the private ones are very neat) remind one strongly, if the analogy may be permitted, of the chairs which, on the fifth of November in England, bear the representatives of the renowned Guy Fawkes."

Parbury's description of Simla as it was in 1840 must be reserved for a future occasion. We have to follow

him on his journey from that place to Bombay. He left the hospitable station, as he terms it, on the 24th of October. It took him twenty-four hours to cover in his palanquin the 83 miles between Bahr and Ludhiana and twenty-two to reach Ferozepore, 79 miles beyond Ludhiana.

From Ferozepore he went in boats to Bombay via the Sutlej and Indus. Most people travelled by water in preference to moving in palanquins or on camels. The Sutlej country boats or *dundis* were very primitive and offered to the traveller far less comfort than the Ganges budgerow. In shape they resembled the coal barges seen on the Thames, stem and stern being somewhat raised. On the latter stood the steersman, the rudder serving also as paddle. These vessels were all constructed on the same plan, varying only in size. The boat on which Parbury travelled was 30 feet long and 12 broad, and capable of carrying some 400 maunds, or about 12 tons. A couple of oars, worked by two men at the prow, enabled the clumsy craft to move at the rate of about three-quarters of a mile an hour; as the current was more than two miles an hour the only means of progression against stream were the tow rope and the large sail, which, Parbury tells us, "with regard to both canvas and preservation," far excelled the appointments of vessels on the Ganges. But, notwithstanding the large spread of canvas, the *dundi* was utterly incapable of facing a moderate adverse breeze. When the wind was against it, it had either to bring-to, or be towed. "Their stems and sterns," writes Parbury, "are generally elaborately carved, and at the mast-head are frequently carried small brass bells, which tinkle as they move, a short staff

with a white flag being hoisted over all. They never use the lead; and the first intimation of their being in shoal water is their sweeps touching the ground. They have no anchors or kedges, their mode of bringing-to being by means of a short staff and rope, the latter attached to the head of the vessel, and the former taken on shore and pointed diagonally towards the earth. The stream at the same time taking the boat down, forces in the staff until it is far enough to hold; this is termed *lugaoing*. Another pole of much greater length is also used to prevent the strain being entirely upon the smaller one."

The passenger occupied the part of the vessel between the raised bow and the stern. By the use of bamboos and reeds an apartment of about 13 feet by 9 was closed in. Another, about half the length, was erected more forward for servants and cooking purposes.

The hire of this craft between Ferozepore and Sukkur amounted to Rs.132; the rate charged being Rs.44 per mensem. The passage occupied only fifteen days, but two and a half months were allowed for the return journey! The above charge included the wages of the six men who formed the crew, but did not pay for the erection of the thatch, which cost the traveller Rs.20. The tradespeople at Ferozepore used to derive a rich harvest from the fact that that station was the usual starting-point for journeys by water. Practically nothing was obtainable at places passed during the voyage; it was therefore necessary for a traveller to lay in everything he required, even to poultry. At Ferozepore Rs.14 per dozen was charged for beer that could be obtained for Rs.6 at Calcutta and Rs.12 at Simla. Everything else had to be paid for in like proportion.

SNIPE SHOOTING.

Notice the broad-brimmed hat which was often worn before the days of the *sola topi*.

As this did not afford sufficient protection from the sun, a man carrying a large umbrella—a *chatawalla*—usually accompanied a European when walking in the middle of the day.

The picture is taken from a sketch by Captain F. J. Bellew, illustrating *Memoirs of a Griffen*.

At Sukkur, on the Indus, Parbury changed into another country boat, which was less comfortable even than the vessel he had engaged at Ferozepore.

"The boats of Lower Sind," he writes, "vary but little from those of the Sutlej. The stem and stern are not so broad, and at each there is a much larger space decked off from the centre, somewhat lessening the latter, though, from being deeper, not greatly diminishing the capacity for cargo. This arrangement is necessary as the boatmen frequently have their wives and children living with them on board, reserving the after-part to themselves, and all the rest being appropriated to the passenger, in case the vessel carries one. On these occasions the women work at the tracking rope, and assist in all the necessary duties, with all the energy of the other sex, and sometimes even more." Parbury had to pay Rs.110 as boat hire from Sukkur to the mouth of the Indus, the vessel being hired for two and a half months.

In 1841 the Indus steamers had not commenced running regularly, although the *Comet* had traversed the Indus and Sutlej to beyond Ludhiana—the double journey exceeding two thousand miles. There were at the time when Parbury was in India five steamers running between Sukkur and Tatta, fifty miles from Karachi. These were owned by the Government. As they did not tug flats, their cabin accommodation was limited. The charge for a cabin was at the rate of 6 annas a mile, for a cuddy berth 5 annas, and for a deck passage 3 annas. Table money was Rs.4 per diem, exclusive of wines.

The Indus steamers were built of iron, and each was provided with two 35 h.-p. engines. The vessels were ill-adapted to the climate, having neither ports nor

scuttles, the only air admitted to the cabins was through the skylights.

Parbury reached the mouth of the Indus on the 22nd November, and left there for Bombay two days later in a *pattimar*. Bombay was made in six days—an unusually speedy passage.

"The boats trafficking between the Indus and Bombay," writes Parbury, "are termed buggalows, or pattimars. They are all much of the same description, varying only in size. A short though unnautical account of that in which the present voyage was made may not be deemed irrelevant. In length she was 70 feet, with a beam of 18 . . . of 150 candies burthen (equal to 50 tons) and drawing 12 feet of water. She had but one mast, carrying a single huge sail, almost triangular in form, which cannot be reefed, and is exchanged in bad weather for one of far less dimensions. Both stem and stern diminish to a point; about 12 feet of the latter are covered in with matting and bamboos, beneath the roof formed by which is the passenger's accommodation. It would be next to impracticable for more than one person to find shelter in it, and that one must not be a lady, as, without reference to other inconveniences, a steersman occupies a portion of it day and night. A folding door opens at the stern, through which the tiller is introduced, requiring it to be always open; the only part enclosed in front is about a depth of 3 feet, from above which and through numerous holes in the sides, the wind, from whatever direction it may blow, obtains free ingress. Privacy is altogether out of the question and a standing posture beneath the beams equally so. Below this elegant poop-cabin is a somewhat smaller one, but quite dark,

and an entrance to it only obtainable by crawling. Of the fore-part of the vessel, 18 feet are covered in as a shelter for the crew, beneath which they cook and sleep; all the rest of the vessel is devoted to cargo, and open, like a common river boat. Cross beams prevent the two sides from coming into too loving contact, along both which are two loose narrow planks, forming a pleasant quarter-deck walk in fine weather. The pedestrian should, however, have a steady hand and foot, for on the one hand there is not the slightest elevation to prevent him tumbling into the sea, nor on the other to save him from the hold. There is a gradual slope towards the head, causing a considerable pitching when there is not sufficient wind to keep the vessel's monstrous sail from flapping. Grotesque paintings, principally of peacocks and roses, in the gaudiest colours, are meant to adorn the towering stern and front of the poop, while all else is black with filth and dirt, and it is doubtful if, from the time she left the builder's yard, a drop of water has been applied to cleanse her deck or bulwarks." As regards Parbury's statement that the *pattimar* could accommodate but one passenger, and that not a lady, he doubtless would have been surprised had he been told that the Company expected one of their military servants, together with his wife, to accommodate himself in such a vessel when travelling up or down the coast of Bombay.

In 1826 Colonel Elwood was ordered from Bombay to Bhuj to take command of a regiment there. He, together with Mrs. Elwood, and their servants, had to crowd into one of these vessels. "Most of our servants," writes Mrs. Elwood, "took their wives and families, and, as we carried all our furniture with us, the little

vessel in which we were launched upon the Indian Ocean was completely full." The lady contrived to conceal herself from the crew by hanging *chiks* in front of the cabin.

The number of stations in the Bombay Presidency actually on the sea was comparatively few. People proceeding to their station took *pattimar* to the nearest port and from there marched inland. Mandavie was the port for Bhuj. Colonel and Mrs. Elwood remained at Mandavie until their effects had been landed and the heavy furniture sent on ahead in bullock carts. Then the owners themselves set forth. They left a little before sunset on the 12th November. We will let Mrs. Elwood herself describe the daily march. "First of all several heavy carts in which were such things as were absolutely necessary for our accommodation on the road—tents and tent furniture, couches, chairs, tables, cooking utensils and other articles—then followed our retinue and their numerous families,—C.'s horse and grooms—and lastly ourselves, as we remained, until everything was fairly off, at the tent of a friend with whom we dined. C. rode on horseback, some of our attendants on camels, others were on foot. I travelled in a palanquin . . . and we were escorted by some Russulla horse, and by a havildar, naik and twelve sepoys. . . . We soon reached Biddery, where we found our tents pitched. . . . On the following morning we started before daybreak in order to reach our halting-place before sunrise, having sent on other tents in front the preceding evening to be ready by the time we arrived." Thus did the march proceed.

But this is a digression. We left Parbury on his *pattimar* complaining of the accommodation. There is

not much more to say about him. He formed a poor opinion of the Commander, who, "though he had made fifty voyages between Karachi and Bombay, occasionally erred in his computations by twenty or thirty miles." Nevertheless, as we have seen, he made a rapid voyage. Parbury remained only one night at Bombay, and left for Suez on the evening of the 1st December by the steam packet *Cleopatra*.

His stay of one night at Bombay was, however, sufficient to enable him to discover that at that time Bombay hotels were not what they should be. "On the score of hotels," he writes, "Bombay is as much behind Calcutta as is Madras. The Victoria is the best, but unless unavoidable it should not be resorted to."

XII

SOME LITERARY LADIES

IN view of the fact that before the opening of the Red Sea route India was to a large extent a *terra incognita* to the people of the British Isles, and that English women in India had leisure almost without limit, it is surprising that so few of these have written books on India. The explanation is doubtless that in pre-Victorian days it was not the fashion for women to write books, and the majority of ladies were not sufficiently well educated to do so. It can scarcely be said that any of the works of those ladies who wrote about India is of outstanding merit, but, with the exception of one or two of the earliest efforts, all of them are well written, and most of them are of considerable value to the student of the times, because women naturally pay more attention to the details of domestic life than men do. But for these women writers our knowledge of life in the days of the Company would not be nearly so full as it is.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the writings of these literary ladies mostly took the form of journals or letters. In those days most women kept diaries, and the art of letter-writing had not been allowed to fall into decay.

Mrs. Kindersley's book of travels is perhaps the first book on India ever written by a woman. It was published

in 1770, and is now a rare volume. Unfortunately, it is more rare than valuable. It is distinctly disappointing, whether regarded from the literary or the utilitarian standpoint. Mrs. Kindersley came out to India with her husband, who was a military man. She went so far up country as Allahabad—at that time an outpost of the Empire—and stayed there for seven months. Some ten years after Mrs. Kindersley's volume, *Hartly House, Calcutta*, and Mrs. Fay's *Letters* appeared. These two books, together with the *Memoirs of Asiaticus*, furnish us with very detailed accounts of life in Calcutta as it was at the time of Warren Hastings. All three have been republished in recent years and are easily obtainable.

Hartly House, Calcutta, purports to be a series of letters written to a girl friend in England by a young lady who came out to Calcutta with her father in 1783. There is intrinsic evidence to show that these so-called letters were never written as such, and that they are not the work of a woman. The writer signs herself at the foot of her letters variously Sofia Goldborne, Goldborn, and Goldsborne. There are some chronological inexactitudes in the letters which show that some, at any rate, were not written at the time at which they purport to be. Although the phraseology is often rugged and occasionally positively ungrammatical, the book is written in a most vivacious style. These features might be looked for in a book written by a lively young girl. On the other hand, the book contains many passages of such a nature that the present writer finds it impossible to believe that they emanate from the pen of a girl born in the middle of the eighteenth century. Take, for example, the following: "I have been at church, my dear girl, in

my new palanquin (the mode of genteel conveyance) where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by all gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hands to conduct them to their seat. Accordingly those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which between ourselves are chiefly old fellows, for the young fellows either choose country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves in order to be united to their favourite Dulcineas in their native land), on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers, who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often, without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, becoming brides in the utmost splendour, have their rank simultaneously established and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them. But not so your friend ; for, having accompanied my father to India, no overtures of that nature will be attempted previous to an acquaintance with him . . . nor did any gentleman break in upon the circle of my intimates on this first public exhibition of my person, though every male creature in Calcutta, entitled to that privilege, led Mr. and Mrs. Hartly to expect an early visit from them."

This, it is submitted, is not a letter written by a young girl who has not been a week in India. The writer makes no attempt to describe so curious a conveyance as the palanquin and displays an intimate knowledge of Calcutta society. For these reasons the present writer is of opinion that *Hartly House* should not be numbered among the

productions of women and so should not find a place in this article, but, as Busteed and others seem to accept the feminine authorship of the book, it has been mentioned.

The authorship of Mrs. Fay's *Letters* is not in doubt. Mrs. Fay was the wife of an English barrister who went out to India in 1780 to practise in Calcutta. He seems to have been rather a wastrel. Many adventures befell him and his wife on their way out. The writing of Mrs. Fay displays not a little humour, and her book, although often faulty in the matter of grammatical construction, is well worth perusal as a faithful account of social life in Calcutta when Warren Hastings was Governor-General.

Taking the Bengal ladies first, Mrs. Sherwood comes next in chronological order. She arrived in India in the early years of the nineteenth century. Her *Stories from the Church Catechism* was first published about the year 1817. This edition is very rare; the book was republished in 1873. It is, to quote the authors of *Hobson Jobson*, "almost unique as giving some view of the life of non-commissioned ranks of a British regiment in India."

Mrs. Sherwood had a ready pen, and wrote a large number of books, chiefly for children. Owing to the death of several of her children, her autobiography, which appeared in 1857, affords rather depressing reading. Lady Nugent and Mrs. Fenton should perhaps be numbered among the literary ladies who visited India in the days of the Company.

Both these women kept Journals, which, although not written for publication, appeared in book form some

time after the death of their writers. Maria, Lady Nugent was the wife of Sir George Nugent, Bart., who went to India in 1811 as Commander-in-Chief, and remained there till 1815.

Lady Nugent's Journal does not pretend to be a literary production. The editor evidently was not acquainted with India. Throughout the book the word "Tonjon" is spelt "Toujou"—evidently Lady Nugent wrote her "n's" like "u's." Her book, however, gives interesting accounts of life on board an East Indiaman, of Calcutta gossip in 1814 and 1815, and of life in India viewed from an angle different from that of most writers. The Journal was published in two volumes in 1839.

Mrs. Fenton came to India in 1826 and formed a very poor opinion of English society here. Writing of Dinapore in 1827 she says: "My greatest grief is that I must go out and visit among these censorious people; it is really quite frightful the party spirit and illiberality here. I am told such things as are hardly credible; character is martyred without mercy, charity only a name, and the transactions of private life exaggerated and misrepresented. It does surprise me how the mind can become warped in this way, or what the structure of that mind can be that has pleasure only in the affairs of others and rejects all the resources of taste and knowledge and self-improvement."

Mrs. Parks came out to India in 1822 as the wife of an Indian Civilian going out to India to join the Company's service. She resided in the country for more than twenty years, spending the greater part of that period at Allahabad and Cawnpore. During the whole of her stay in India she kept a Journal. Upon this is based her

Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque. This consists of two bulky volumes and was published in 1850. Fanny Parks was of an inquiring turn of mind and never lost an opportunity of acquiring information; in quest of variety she made a trip up the Ganges in her pinnace *Seagull*, unaccompanied by her husband. In 1838 she visited Mussoorie. Her book is an Anglo-Indian classic. It contains a great deal more than notes on current events and descriptions of the social life of the English in India. In it there are chapters dealing with Thuggee and the Hindu and Mohammedan religions. She discourses on such multifarious subjects as the Gardener family, life in the Zenana, and the useful plants of India. Her well-written volumes are the work of a cultured lady, having a cheerful disposition and a fund of humour. Mrs. Parks has no literary mannerisms, and is almost unique among lady writers in that she does not gird at Anglo-Indian society. Every one who reads her book is captivated by it. It is illustrated, and some of the pictures are coloured, but most of them are not up to the standard of the text. The edition appears to have been a small one, and the book now costs anything over Rs.100. The reprinting of it should prove a profitable speculation to a publisher.

Of the English women who have sojourned in India, Miss Emma Roberts is one of the most noteworthy. She lived at a time when women did not go to university and did not dream of competing with men in the various learned professions. Nevertheless, she successfully edited a newspaper on each of the two occasions on which she visited India. She was the daughter of Captain Roberts, who entered the Russian army and fought against the

Turks on several occasions. He afterwards joined the English army, and died, when a captain, leaving a widow, one son and two daughters. The son entered the army and died young. The elder daughter married Captain McNaghten, of the 61st Bengal Native Infantry; the younger daughter, Emma, died a spinster. Miss Roberts was not a Daisy Ashford. As a child she seems to have written nothing, and it was not until she was nearing middle age that her literary bent displayed itself.

She was born in 1794, and her first book was published in 1827. This is entitled *Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster, or the White and Red Roses.* This work was the result of much laborious research at the British Museum. It is written in pleasing style, but threw no new light on the events of the time, and was not a success. Miss Roberts is an essayist rather than a historian. Shortly after the publication of this book Mrs. Roberts died and Emma's sister married. In 1828 Miss Roberts went with the McNaghtens to India in the *Sir David Scott.* She accompanied the McNaghtens in a budgerow up the Ganges, and then spent about two years in the Upper Provinces, staying at Agra, Etawah, and Cawnpore. She was at the latter place when the theatre was opened. She wrote the prologue, which was read at the opening entertainment, in which she alluded to the designer of the theatre, Captain Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, as a youth of retiring disposition. Burt later in one of his books denies the imputation, and pokes fun at Miss Roberts. While at Cawnpore Miss Roberts brought out a little volume of poetry entitled *Oriental Scenes.* The book is dedicated to Miss L. Landor, with whom Miss Roberts was intimate.

THE STRAND AT CALCUTTA.

The military men are in uniform. A portion of a *palkigari* shows beyond the gig and the buggy. Two adjutant storks are flying overhead. The River Hughli is in the background.

This picture is taken from *Tom Raw—The Griffen*, written and illustrated by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

The poems are not without merit, and the book was republished in England in 1832. Meanwhile, Mrs. McNaghten died, and Miss Roberts migrated to Calcutta, where she became the editor of the *Oriental Observer*. She also contributed a number of articles to the *Asiatic Journal*. In 1835 a selection of these essays was republished in book form under the title *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindustan*. This is Miss Roberts' best-known work, and the fact that, at a time when but little attention was paid in England to things Indian, the book ran into a second edition is evidence of its merit. This book, like Mrs. Parks' *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque*, and Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, has become a classic. It contains a vivid and spirited description of English society in India. It is true to life, and is not written in satirical vein. Its chief fault is that the local colour in it is put on a little too thickly. In places she exaggerates in an almost unconscionable manner. Take the following passage: "Gentlemen, after having been put to the expense attendant upon giving a ball, are sometimes compelled to divert themselves in the best manner they can devise without the assistance of their expected partners, all of whom, in consequence perhaps of some trivial pique, have sent excuses at the last hour. The supper under the circumstances forms the only consolation, and the fair absentees are doubtless remembered in the libations which ensue. Ladies have also been known to retreat *en masse* from a dinner party, to be succeeded by dancing, being offended by the smell of cheroots emanating from a neighbouring apartment. The consternation of a host upon seeing a drawing-room

deserted and the whole of the fair *cortège*—palkees, taunjohns, chariots, etc., in full retreat from the compound —may be imagined; the beloved cheroots, however, remained to reconcile the beaux to their loneliness—and it is much to be feared that in nine cases out of ten the lady will have been voluntarily sacrificed to the cigar. This highly esteemed preparation of tobacco has nearly superseded the use of the far more elegant hooka; it is not at present tolerated in female society."

This conveys a totally false idea of social life in India. Such an incident may have happened once, but it was certainly not a common occurrence. The assertion that cheroot-smoking was not then tolerated in female society is diametrically opposed to the statement of Mrs. Fenton that dinner at Calcutta terminated in cheroot-smoking by every one but herself. From this it is evident that even ladies smoked cheroots.

The above quotation, if it illustrates her proneness to exaggerate, shows equally that Miss Roberts was a keen observer and possessed a happy knack of setting forth in words her impressions. A contemporary reviewer wrote of her: "Nothing can be more minute and faithful than her pictures of external life and manners. She does not, indeed, go much beneath the surface, nor does she take profound or general views of human nature, but we can mention no traveller who has thrown upon the printed page such true and vivid representations of all that strikes the eye of a stranger."

Like Lady Nugent, Miss Katherine Read, the artist, and other women who came to India in middle age, Miss Roberts found the climate of India very trying. She accordingly left India in 1832. In England she

worked as a journalist. She also published a biographical sketch of Mrs. Maclean (formerly Miss Landon). In 1838 and 1839 she contributed a series of articles to the *Oriental Herald*—a monthly journal published in England. One series of these articles, that entitled "The East Indian Voyager," was subsequently published in book form. In this work Miss Roberts goes into great detail and gives practical advice to all classes of travellers, cadets, members of the Company's Civil Service, chaplains and doctors. She tells each class the articles they require for their outfit, what they should buy in England and what in India, how to select a cabin, how to keep well during the voyage, what their prospects are in India, the cost of living and the number and description of servants they require. The man or woman who would write a similar book to-day would benefit a considerable portion of the community, although such writer might possibly not be *persona grata* with the India Office! Miss Roberts, it will be noticed, did not hesitate to tell doctors how to preserve their health on the voyage. She went even farther, in that she gave officers advice as to their behaviour when sitting on a Court Martial. She felt that this needed some apology; this she gives: she lived for eight months in a house at which Courts Martial were frequently held. If "a capacity for taking infinite pains" be a true definition of genius, then Miss Roberts possessed much of this quality. In cases where she herself was not fully conversant with a subject, she did not hesitate to pick the brains of those who were. Eventually the lure of the East proved too strong for Miss Roberts to withstand. After remaining for nearly seven years in England she determined to pay India a

second visit. Knowing that the climate of the country did not suit her, she determined to limit the period of her visit to one year, but she was not destined to live through this. She decided to travel by the newly opened route via the Red Sea. Before leaving England she arranged with the *Asiatic Journal* to write an account of her voyage out and a descriptive account of Bombay. She fulfilled her engagement. The account she wrote is most spirited, and is certainly as good as any of her earlier work. This was published in book form in 1840 under the title *A Journey through France and Egypt to Bombay in* 1839. She left England in September, 1839, and reached Bombay in November. At Bombay she stayed for a time at Parell with the Governor, Sir James Carnac. Almost immediately on her arrival at Bombay she undertook the editorship of a newly established weekly paper, the *Bombay United Service Gazette.* This work was not sufficient to keep her occupied, and she determined to write a statistical book on Western India. Official records were placed at her disposal and she hoped to have amassed sufficient material before leaving India in October. In April, 1840, while on a visit to Colonel Ovens, the Resident at Sattara, Miss Roberts contracted an illness from which she never recovered. She died at Poona on the 17th September, 1840.

Mention must be made of Mrs. Ashmore, the wife of an officer in H.M.'s 18th Foot. This lady published anonymously in 1840 a book entitled *A Narrative of a Three Months' March and a Residence in the Dooab.* The authoress spent nearly five years in India, mostly at Cawnpore. Her book is a chatty

recital of her experiences and is interesting as giving some account of a regiment on the march.

The Hon. Emily Eden wrote of social India as seen from Government House. Miss Eden was one of the two sisters of Lord Auckland who accompanied him to India in 1836. They made a tour in Upper India, and the letters written by Miss Eden during that time were published in 1860 under the title *Up the Country*. Miss Eden was a talented writer, and no mean artist. In 1844 she published *Portraits of the Princes and Peoples of India*.

Want of space prevents us dilating upon those ladies such as Mrs. Belnos, whose theme was the people of India.

Passing on to those who wrote about the life led by Europeans in South India, we have already mentioned Miss Roberts. Others whose books relate to the Western Presidency are Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Elwood, Mrs. Postans and Lady Falkland. Mrs. Maria Graham, who subsequently became Lady Calcott, is the author of the well-known *Little Arthur's History of England*. This gifted lady spent barely two years in India, partly in Madras and partly in Bombay. After her return to England there appeared in 1812 her *Journal of a Residence in India* (1809–10) illustrated from her own sketches and etchings. As a literary production this has considerable merit. Like many other lady visitors to this country, Mrs. Graham formed a poor opinion of Anglo-Indian society (old sense) especially that of Madras. Young men of that town, she declares, used to go " from house to house to retail the news, ask commissions for the ladies, bring a bauble that has been newly set, or one which the lady has obliquely hinted at a shopping

party she would willingly purchase, but that her husband does not like her to spend so much, and which she thus obtains from some young man, a quarter of whose monthly salary is probably sacrificed to his gallantry. When all the visitors who have any business are gone to their offices, another troop of idlers appears, still more frivolous than the former, and remains till tiffen."

Mrs. Elwood was perhaps the first lady to travel to India via the Red Sea: she wrote a book, which appeared in 1830, entitled *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt and the Red Sea to India.* Some account of this book occurs in the present writer's *In the Days of the Company.*

Mrs. Elwood gives an interesting description of life in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1827. She passes some severe strictures on English society in Bombay. "Figure to yourself," she writes, "a country town in the most remote parts of Scotland or Ireland—where the post and London newspapers do not arrive more than once a fortnight, or not so often—where local interests occupy the whole attention, where official situation gives consequence and importance, and join to these an enervating and depressing climate, which renders every employment an exertion, and some idea may be formed of Bombay. General politics and literature, the beaux arts, and public amusements are seldom touched upon, and in their place are substituted party politics—local news—private character—and, from want of something more amusing, not infrequently, scandal. The greater part of the community come out to India in their 'musically sounding teens,' a period when the human mind is, generally speaking, unacquainted with the world, and

alike ignorant and uninformed. . . . Manners formed in a provincial town are seldom very first-rate, and in India, I should say generally speaking (though of course with numerous exceptions) those who have resided *least* at a Presidency, are as superior to those who, from duty or inclination, have been constantly fixed there, as the unaffected, unpretending 'county gentlemen' in England is preferable to the important and consequential 'Burrá Sahib' of the country town."

The last of the Bombay lady authors are Mrs. Postans, whose *Western India*, published in 1838, is a well-written account of life in that part of the country, and Lady Falkland, wife of the Governor, who perpetrated the work entitled *Chow-chow*.

As regards Madras, the present writer has come across only two books, other than Mrs. Graham's, written by ladies. In 1841 Mrs. Clemons brought out a book called *Manners and Customs of Society in India*. This is a dull account of a somewhat uneventful existence in the Madras Presidency. The second half of the book is composed of a score of chapters giving advice to young officers in the Company's army, and perhaps the best that can be said of it is that it "abounds in undisputed truths and incontrovertible propositions."

A year after the publication of Mrs. Clemons' mediocre production one of the cleverest books in existence treating of Indian society appeared. It is styled *Letters from India during the years* 1838 *to* 1839. It was published anonymously, but it is now no secret that the author was Mrs. Maitland, the wife of a Madras Civil Servant.

The lady's descriptions are inimitable. After a Madras dinner, "all sit round in the middle of the great gallery-

like room, talk in whispers, and scratch their mosquito bites. Sometimes there is a little music, as languid as everything else. Concerning the company themselves, the ladies are all young and wizened, and the gentlemen are all old and wizened. Somebody says France is the paradise of married women, and England of girls. I am sure India is the paradise of middle-aged gentlemen. While they are young they are thought nothing of; just supposed to be making or marring their fortunes, as the case may be, but at about 40, when they are high in the service, are yellow and somewhat grey, they begin to be taken notice of, and are called young men."

This lady writes as follows of her guests at Rajamundry: "Some of our visitors are very sensible and agreeable, and when I have them alone they talk very well, and I like their company, but as soon as three or four get together, they speak about nothing but 'employment and promotion.' Whatever subject may be started, they contrive to twist it, turn it, clip it, and pinch it till they bring it round to that, and then they sit—and conjugate the verb 'to collect'—I am a Collector, he was a Collector, we shall be Collectors, you ought to be a Collector, they would have been Collectors; so when it comes to that, while they conjugate 'to collect' I *decline* listening."

"Civilian ladies are generally very quiet, are languid, speaking almost in whispers, simply dressed, almost lady-like and *comme il faut*, not pretty but pleasant and nice-looking, are dull and give one very hard work in pumping for conversation. They talk of the 'Governor,' the 'Presidency,' the 'Overland,' and girls' schools at home, and have always daughters of about thirteen in England for education. The military ladies, on the contrary, are

always quite young, pretty, noisy, effective, showily dressed, with a great many ornaments, *mauvais ton*, chat incessantly from the moment they enter the house, twist their curls, shake their bustles, and altogether are what you may call 'low toss.' While they are alone with me after dinner they talk about their babies, the disadvantages of scandal, officers and the Regiment, and when the gentlemen come into the drawing-room they invariably flirt with them most furiously."

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XIII

SOME OBSOLETE ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS

ENGLISHMEN in India use, in ordinary conversation, so many words alien to their mother tongue that their language differs from pure English almost as greatly as does that spoken in America. There is, in fact, a distinct Anglo-Indian dialect which contains many common words never heard in England except when two or three "Qui Hi's" are gathered together. As examples, mention may be made of compound, bearer and station in the Indian sense, cantonments, bandobast, malli, dalli, bhisti, memsahib, chota hazri, chaprassi, pakka, kachcha, almira, godown, khad, mufussil, ticca gari, dâk, etc.

The Anglo-Indian dialect of to-day differs in many respects from that of a century ago. Some of the differences are due to altered conditions of life; others are the result of changes of fashion. Words become fashionable, or the reverse, even as clothes do.

In the early days of the Company the Mohammedans of the country were invariably spoken of as Moors and the Hindus as Gentoos. As late as 1839 the authoress of *Letters from Madras* used the expression "young Moorish dandies." For many years the Hindustani language was spoken of as "Moors." Captain Hadley published in 1772 the first Hindustani grammar written

for English people. This book is entitled *Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indoostan Language, commonly called Moors.* Strictly speaking, Moors stood for Urdu and Gentoo for Hindi, but this distinction was not always observed.

When speaking Moors, Englishmen wrought sad havoc with the vowel sounds. This was probably due to Bengali influence. The long "a" they sounded "o"; thus with them lal sharab was lol shrob. Many of their renderings of Indian words still persist, e.g. otto of roses for attar, and molly and dolly for mali and dali. Cawnpore is another relic of this distorted pronunciation. Thomas Atkins still speaks of pawnee.

The orthography of the early English was on a par with their orthoepy. It was no uncommon thing to find the same word spelt in two or more different ways in one document. As a sample of their orthography may be cited the following official letter, dated the 7th September, 1808, from the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares to the Magistrate of Zillah Mirzapoor: "Sir, I have the honour to apprise you that a number of packages from Government to the address of the Hon. M. Elphinstone at Delhey will leave this place in two or three days by Dawk Buhngies.

"2nd. These packages containing articles of value I have been directed to adopt such measures as I may deem advisable to secure them from robbers.

"3rd. As the placing of Burkundauzes at the different stages on the road would be attended with considerable delay, I shall write Perwannahs to all Police Darogahs near to the High Road between this place and Delhy, directing them to afford protection to the Buhngee-

burdars in charge of the said packages during the journey."

The above letter contains several obsolete words. At the time when it was written, the area in charge of a Magistrate or Collector was invariably termed a zillah, and the local law courts were known as zillah courts. The word buhngie or buhngee, usually spelt bangy, was in everyday use. Letters were carried from place to place in wallets on the backs of dâk-runners; parcels were also conveyed by footmen but in boxes called petarrahs attached to the ends of a yoke that rested on the shoulder of the carrier. The Hindi name for this yoke is *bahangi*, hence dawk bangy was the name given to the parcel post. The men who carried the bangies were known as bangy-burdars, the word burdar being equivalent to the more modern walla. Thus, the hukka servant was known as the hookaburdar. People who performed long journeys by palanquin were accompanied by their light luggage packed in petarrahs and carried by bangyburdars, who kept pace with the palanquin.

The above-quoted letter contains another word no longer in use, namely, burkundauz. This term was for many years employed to denote any armed footman, whether a police constable or a private retainer. The word is an Arabo-Persian hybrid, meaning lightning-darter, i.e. one who throws lightning. Running messengers used to be called cossids, from the Arabic *kasid*, or hurcarras, or hircarras (Hindi *harkara*). The latter word was in such common use that the leading English newspaper in India was called the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

In the early days of the Company, English-knowing clerks were called crannies. Captain Williamson writes,

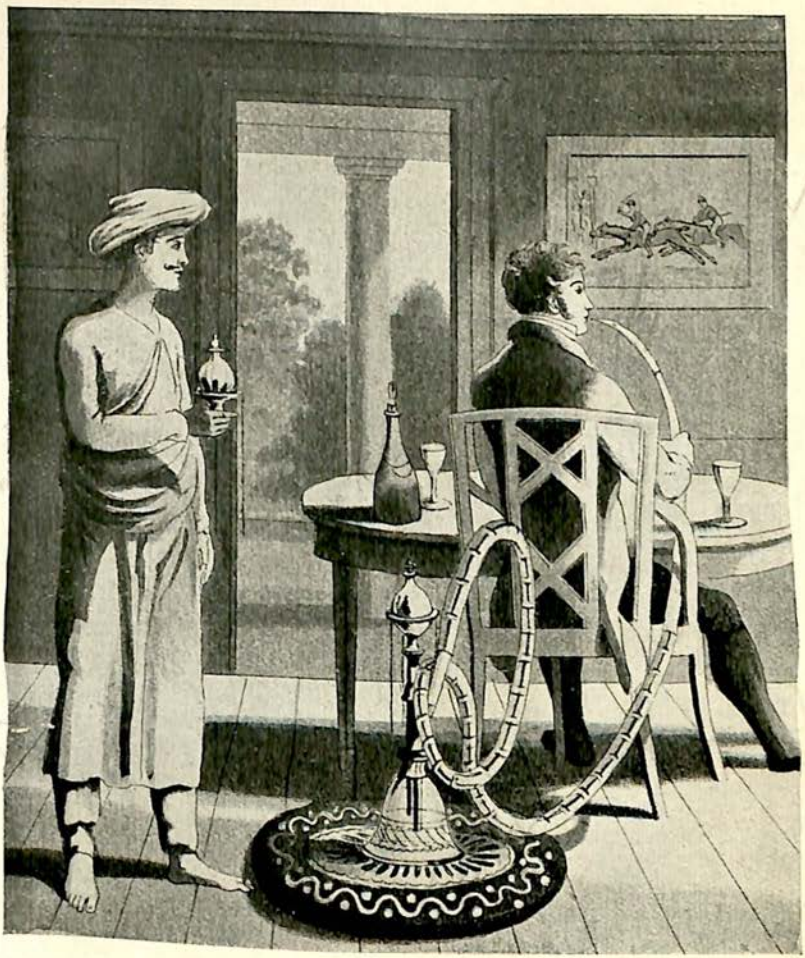
GENTLEMAN SMOKING A HOOKA.

The picture shows the hooka burdar bringing another fill for the pipe, i.e. some smoking mixture on top of which is a red-hot ball of charcoal.

Notice the mat on which the hooka usually stood, and the chair in which the smoker sits.

Easy chairs were almost unknown in India a century ago.

The illustration is from a drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.



in his *East India Vade Mecum*: "The cranny or clerk may be either a native Armenian, a native Portuguese or a Bengalee." The word began to fall into disuse early in the last century, and had become quite obsolete by 1840. It was sometimes used as slang for a writer in the Company's service. Thus Boyd, in 1793, writes of his "brother crannies." He might equally well have called them his jhat bhais, or jaut baees (caste brothers), as he would probably have spelt the words. This expression was often used metaphorically to express brother officers, or the brothers of a Masonic lodge.

In the times when Englishmen were more completely cut off from Europe than they now are, they interlarded their speech with Hindustani words to a far greater extent than now happens. Such words as banao, hikmat and thikana were in daily use. Banao is still employed occasionally to denote a "sell," or made-up affair, but if an Englishman in India were to-day asked the question "What is the hikmat of this padlock?" he would as likely as not fail to understand that the questioner desired to know how the lock worked. Thikana was used to denote trustworthiness. A man would say of a dishonest person, "There is no thikana in that fellow!" Since the Company ceased to exist the letters I.C.S. have taken the place of H.E.I.C.S.—the Honourable East India Company's Servant.

A word, once very common, which fell into disuse soon after the Mutiny, is hackery. For many years no other name was ever given to a bullock cart. A Government Notification, dated the 31st August, 1843, informs the public that packages above the prescribed weight of bangy parcels arriving at Allahabad by the Hon.

Company's river steamers will henceforth be forwarded through the Post Office to other stations in the N.W.P. "by vans, relays of dawk bearers, coolies, or hackeries agreeably to the directions on the packages." In 1851 an Act was passed imposing a toll of 2 annas on "every native hackery on springs" and on every cart and hackery not on springs of which the wheels exceeded 3½ feet in diameter and the tyres 3 inches in breadth. If these requirements were not satisfied the toll was 8 annas.

The invention of a generic term to describe persons of mixed European and Indian blood and acceptable to the same, has long exercised the ingenuity of man. These people resented the strange name half-caste that used to be applied to them, with the result that in 1827 the Government ordered that people of mixed descent were to be called Indo-Britons in all public documents in which there might be occasion to mention them. This name never came into general use, it is not even mentioned in *Hobson Jobson*. The domiciled community were often called East Indians, but to this they objected and in consequence the term Eurasian was invented, probably shortly after the Mutiny. Even this euphonious appellation has not found favour among those for whom it was designed, and they have lately appropriated the name Anglo-Indian, which has for many years been employed in another sense.

Memsahib, presumably a corruption of ma'am sahib, was never heard in the early days of British rule, but English ladies were often spoken of by the surname with beebee affixed, e.g. Johnson beebee.

That necessary servant, the sweeper, has always

been a man of many aliases. Most of his names have been given in derision. In the early days of the Company he was spoken of as the halalcore, i.e. one who eats only that which is lawful! When the functionary was a woman, she was known as the harry, or more commonly the harry-wench, or harry-woman.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, our fat friends the banias were always spoken of as banyans. Tavernier, writing 250 years ago, tells us that they are "a thousand times worse than the Jews!"

Kittysol and roundel were the only words used for umbrella in the early days of the Company, when its servants had to go to office on foot. As the *sola topi* was unheard of, the umbrella was necessary as a protection against the sun. The umbrella was held by a servant called the roundel- or kittysol-boy. Kittysol is obviously a corruption of the Portuguese *quitta sol*. It is now more than a century since this word has been applied to an ordinary umbrella or sunshade, but it is said to be still the trade name for Chinese paper umbrellas.

Goglet or gugulet is another obsolete Anglo-Indian word derived from the Portuguese, or Portugals, as they used to be called. This name was given by Englishmen to the earthenware vessel with a long spout in which water was placed to cool. This vessel is still largely used by railway subordinates, and is now called a surai. Before soda-water was invented and ice manufactured in India, this vessel was in constant requisition. We are told that there was a time "when even the hon. members of the Council met in banyan shirts, long-drawers, and congee caps, with a case bottle of good old arrack and a gouglet of water placed on the table, which

the Secretary (a skilful hand) frequently converted into punch." What a strange sight the Council Chamber must have presented! Round a Jacobean table, perched on straight-backed chairs, sat the President and the Councillors; on their heads were starched muslin caps, like those worn to-day by banias. Those men had no use for coats; the only covering for the upper part of the body was a semi-transparent muslin shirt that hung loose and concealed the long-drawers or linen pyjamas that formed their nether garments. Our forerunners studied ease rather than fashion, and they should not be blamed for their slovenly attire, as they were *sans* ice, *sans* punkas, *sans* soda-water, *sans* hill stations, *sans* furloughs, and with little hope of ever returning to England. They wore long-drawers by night as well as by day, presumably to protect their legs from mosquitoes. It is only of late years that the Hindustani word pyjamas has replaced the name long-drawers.

With the names of obsolete coins, with siccas, sonats, pagodas, fanams, reas, and the like, we cannot deal here. An account of such would fill a bulky volume. Mention, however, must be made of micky rupees. These were rupees mixed with base metal. The wives of money-changers used often to seek to augment the income of their husbands by perforating good rupees at the edges and then excavating from them three-fourths of the silver. The cavity thus formed was filled up with lead. Rupees "doctored" in this manner were called micky rupees. Those people who treated them thus used to put private marks on such rupees, so as to warn the other members of their profession. In this country, as elsewhere, there is honour among thieves. This nefarious business was

carried on by the women-folk, because no police officer would in those days so far violate the customs of the country as to penetrate their retreats.

Two pure English words were formerly used in India in senses they no longer bear. These are outcry and register.

In the days of yore, a man under orders of transfer used as a rule to sell all his furniture by auction ; such an auction was invariably spoken of as an outcry, the word auction being reserved for a sale by a professional auctioneer.

The covenanted assistant to the zillah judge was known officially as the register. Nowadays, both in England and India, officials who register documents and keep archives in their custody are called registrars. In Scotland, however, human registers still exist. Our judges will do well to bear in mind the old Anglo-Indian use of the word register lest they repeat the error of one who rejected as a clumsy forgery a document that purported to be a copy of a deed executed in India many years ago, and certified by one whose designation was given as register.

XIV

PEREGRINE PULTUNEY

THE element of luck obtains in literature, as in most other things. Some books gain a celebrity and a sale out of all proportion to their merits, and for which it is difficult to account. Others of far greater literary merit fail to sell well or to attract attention. The reviewers are usually not responsible for this anomalous state of affairs. The best-reviewed books often prove failures. The public knows its own mind and refuses to be dictated to by literary critics; but it is not always easy to understand what it is that causes the public to make up its mind about a book. *Peregrine Pultuney* is a conspicuous example of a book that has not received its deserts. To say that this is the best novel that has been written about life in India in the days of the Company is not necessarily to bestow high praise, because such books are few in number, and most of them afford exceedingly dull reading. It is only fair to the writers of such books to say that their theme was a sad one. A book true to Anglo-Indian life in bygone days of necessity deals with sufferings and tragedies. If such a book is to be widely read, it must possess considerable literary merit, and the truth is that the past generations of Anglo-Indian novelists have not been born writers of fiction. The result is

that even when, as in the case of *The Indian Marriage Mart* and *The Baboo*, the composition and style are unexceptional, the work falls flat, and when, as with *The English in India*, the diction is poor, the result is a book through the verbiage of which few have patience to wade.

Peregrine Pultuney appeared three-quarters of a century ago. Like most other books of its kind it was published anonymously, the reason being that the truthful writer drew most of his characters from actual life and had many hard things to say of society. It often happened that the name of the author subsequently came to light. It is now no secret that Sir J. W. Kaye is the author of *Peregrine Pultuney*.

The plot is a slender one. Nevertheless, so attractive a personality is the hero and so good are the descriptions, even to-day the book is far more readable than nine out of ten modern novels. He who reads *Peregrine Pultuney* learns more about Anglo-Indian society in pre-Victorian days than he could by reading half a dozen handbooks or descriptive accounts. As the name implies, the hero was a military officer. He served in the Company's Regiment of Artillery. After the manner of the times, the book begins with the hero's life in England, and gives a detailed account of the voyage round the Cape. Few writers of three-volume novels are able to bring the hero to the shores of India until the last page of the first volume. In the case of *Peregrine Pultuney* the first volume is devoted to vivid accounts of life at an English school, existence at Addiscombe, and adventures on the voyage. It was on board ship that Pultuney met the villain of the piece in the shape of a cornet in a King's Cavalry regiment.

The second and third volumes contain the best account extant of the life of a subaltern in a Company's regiment, the vulgar, ostentatious society of Calcutta, the "very fluctuating, very friendly, very quiet and very humble society" at Dum-Dum, and the miserable existence in fever-stricken Aracan. Kaye possessed descriptive powers of no mean order. His pen-picture of the interior of the rich civilian's house in Chrowinghee is the best of its kind. Everything in Mrs. Poggleton's drawing-room bore the stamp of vulgar display. It "was filled up in a very ambitious manner and was not unlike an upholsterer's shop when it has been got all ready for show." It was a long room, somewhat badly proportioned, with windows at each end; very lofty and very unfinished in appearance. The walls were white, but relieved every here and there by doors, prints and wall shades. There were six doors, three on each side, which always remained open, but the occupant of the drawing-room was prevented from seeing into the side-rooms by half-doors, reaching neither to the top nor the bottom, made of toon wood and crimson silk. The prints on the walls were principally large mezzotints, most of them monstrosities. The wall shades, thirty in number, were branch candlesticks, with glass shades, like inverted sugar loaves, and numerous "drops." These were attached to the walls by gilded brackets. From the pea-green cross beams that supported the ceiling hung three large chandeliers enveloped in red bags. The two large punkas, most elaborately moulded and gilt, had semi-circular spaces cut out of the top of them to give a clear berth to the chandeliers. There was not a curtain to the room. On the floor was no carpet, but a large finely

textured mat. The furniture was arranged in three rows. The middle row was thus constituted: near a bay window was a white marble table, upon a massive mahogany pedestal. In the centre of the table was a china flower vase, and round it, scattered in elegant confusion, a "Book of Beauty," a "Book of Royalty," and a "Book of Loveliness." Next to the table was a mahogany sofa covered with the finest bright yellow damask, then a rectangular marble table with twist-about legs at either end of it. On this table was a china inkstand (to look literary), an alabaster cupid or so, and a bronze stag. After this came a fine large ottoman with a back in the middle. The *pièce de résistance* of this row was a mahogany Broadwood grand piano. Beyond the piano were another round table, but not of marble, and two more sofas of gamboge damask. At the sides of the room, between the doors, were long marble slab ornament tables on which were placed a variety of China vases, China figures, artificial flowers on alabaster pedestals beneath sugar-loaf glasses, little bronze lamps, and "other very ingenious specimens of inutility." The furniture of the side rows was completed by "a couple of very handsome carved mahogany book-cases with a variety of smart gold-lettered books in them to keep up the credit of the establishment, an inlaid ebony and satin-wood chess table, a vast number of footstools of all sorts and sizes, and an armchair in which it would be utterly impossible to sit for five minutes without falling asleep." This last was rather an unusual piece of furniture in pre-Victorian days when comfortable chairs were almost unknown. Be it noticed that the room did not contain a single Indian article. Things Indian were taboo in those days.

Great was the contrast between the drawing-room and the guests' bedroom. This latter "was of tolerable dimensions, but exceedingly barren of furniture. A faint darkness-visible sort of light was thrown over it, or rather over part of it, from a tumbler, containing a cotton wick with a little cocoanut oil floating at the top of some water, which said tumbler was located on a very antique looking, debauched, round, three-legged table, about the size of the crown of one's hat. In the middle of the apartment was a huge four-post bedstead, with mosquito curtains and a mattress, looking as difficult of ascent as the Table Mountain, and almost as uninviting to sleep upon. Whilst another little three-legged square table with a round hole in it to admit a blue and white basin was occupying a remote corner of the room, and somewhere in its near vicinity was an old book-stand with five or six phials and bottles on the shelves, which looked as though they had come out of the dispensary, when Lord Clive was Governor-General." Two or three chairs completed the furniture. Kaye contrasts English and Indian hospitality. "In England," he says, "a man is slow to open his doors to you, but when once he does, the guest, who is admitted immediately, finds himself in clover—the best bedroom, the best everything is his—and he is snuggled to his heart's content; whilst in India a man's gates are thrown open to you on the instant, but the deuce of a bit is there of any best bedroom or best of anything else to snuggle you. In England, hospitality runs into details: in India it deals in generalities. . . . In India, little or no preparation is made for the advent of a guest. He is expected to bring everything with him, and when you ask your friend to come and

live with you for six weeks, you scarcely mean more than that you hope he will pitch his tent in your compound. You give him room enough and plenty to eat, but there the hospitality ends. A bedstead he may find perhaps, but pillows, and sheets, and pillow-cases and towels, he must take with him if he desires such luxuries. Bedrooms without bedding, dressing-rooms without looking-glasses, and bathing-rooms without bathing pots are not looked upon as inhospitable manifestations, for people are expected to take the two former commodities with them, and the latter may be got for a few pice in the bazaar. In England, too, the servants of the house take prodigious pains to make their masters' guests comfortable—urged thereto by the hopes of reward—but in India another man's servant will not move an inch for you of his own free will, however much you may stand in need of his services. You are expected to move about with your own servants—and the man who goes out to spend a couple of days without a retinue is an ass of the first magnitude. The punkah is stopped when the master or mistress of the house quits the room—and you may call '*Qui-hi*' till you are hoarse without eliciting an answer."

Conditions have changed considerably since 1844. The tipping system has found its way into the East, and in consequence the guest may depend on being well looked after by the servants of his host. Hospitality in the East to-day approximates far more closely to the English style, and this is perhaps the chief reason why there is so much less hospitality than there used to be.

Let us now leave the "palace" in Chowringhee and

accompany Mr. Cadet Julian Jenks on a particularly steamy day in August, 1834, to the quarters of his friend, Ensign Phillimore—No. 15, South Barracks, Fort William. A very broad, very dusty and rather dilapidated staircase led to a passage "somewhat more than one hundred yards in length, with a stone or plaster floor, a somewhat lofty roof with a few debauched-looking lanterns pendent therefrom, and two long rows of doors with arched apertures over them running along either side of the gallery. Outside almost every door were congregated palanquin bearers, subalterns' servants, massalchies cleaning dishes, box wallas seeking admission with their wares, and coolies with empty baskets clamouring for pice, or full ones containing beer or wines for the consumption of the inhabitants of the quarters. Their jabberings were mingled with the cries of the apothecary's baby in the arms of a squatting ayah, the groanings of a violin 'cello from No. 4 and the squeaking of a diseased flute in No 8. On entering No. 15, Julian Jenks found Phillimore with his legs on the table, smoking a Manilla cheroot with a cup of cold tea by his side. The room was bare and desolate. There was no mat on the floor. The whitewashed punka, which hung inactive from the ceiling, had three or four holes in the canvas, no fringe and no gilding of any kind. "In one corner of the room was a common camp bed, in another a boardship washstand, and in a third about three dozen black bottles, which were most probably full of beer, whilst the fourth corner of the apartment was cut off from the main room by a low embankment of brick and plaster in a circular form which . . . did duty for a bath-room. In this enclosure were kedgeree pots, about half

a dozen empty bottles, one or two full ditto wrapped up in wet straw as a sort of desperate attempt to cool them; whilst the top of the little wall that enclosed the space was set off by a brass basin, two pieces of soap, a sponge and a wet towel. These, with three or four black leather bullock trunks, a couple of chairs, a tin box and the table at which Mr. Phillimore was sitting were the principal items of furniture." After some conversation the two friends paid a visit to a mutual friend, who was dying in an adjoining room, the aspect of which was "still more wretched, for it was dirtier and more disordered, and in one corner of the room was a heap of dirty linen—the chief part of which was stained and stiffened with blood—on the table were two or three bottles of physic, a pill-box, and a number of powder papers, a wineglass with the remains of a draught at the bottom and clinging to the sides, a few scraps of lint, a teaspoon, which looked as though it had held a powder, and lastly a plate full of salt and blood, in which evidently a dozen leeches or so had lately been disgorging the sanguinary meal they had made. Besides these paraphernalia which adorned the table, were a number of soda-water bottles, some full and some empty, in the corner of the room opposite the linen, and scattered about the floor were several large locks of beautiful soft yellow hair, which you might have almost taken for a woman's, so pure and luxuriant did they look.

"Beneath a punka, which a bearer more than nine-tenths asleep was drowsily pretending to pull, on a camp-bed, lay the fever-stricken patient, his head shaven close to the scalp, his left arm bandaged and bloodstained, and his brows bearing evident symptoms of having lately worn a garland of leeches."

So much for the habitations of the English in Calcutta. What of the people themselves? Miss Judia Poggleton, the heroine of the novel, thus delivered herself, after a residence of one year in the City of Palaces. "Of all places that I have ever visited, Calcutta is the *most* scandalous. In other parts of the world they talk about things; here they talk about people. The conversation is all personal, and as such, you may be sure, tolerably abusive. . . . What Mr. This said to Miss That, and what Miss That did to Mr. This; and then all the interminable gossip about marriages and no-marriages and will-be marriages and ought-to-be marriages—and gentlemen's attentions and ladies' flirtings, dress reunions and the last *burra khana*."

Nor was scandal confined to conversation. Women, when they heard a fresh piece of news, could not contain themselves until they met their friends; they retailed it by means of the *chit*. Miss Poggleton had a girl friend who declared that on an average she sent off twenty-five chits every day. "A young lady whom I know very well tried very hard to get up a morning correspondence with me, but I soon found that she sent me off a chit for every visitor that called at the house; and as I was expected to say something in return I was obliged to stop the correspondence. I sent 'salaams' half a dozen times, and my friend left off troubling me."

To the query "What were all these chits about?" the best reply is in the dictum of the cynic, "You never know what has got the least in it, a subaltern's bungalow, a lady's chit, or a Governor-General's cranium."

XV

A CHANGE IN GOVERNORS-GENERAL AND OTHER CALCUTTA GOSSIP

THE Journal of Maria, Lady Nugent, was published in 1839, and seven years later a book appeared entitled *Original Familiar Correspondence between Residents in India.* Both these works describe India as it was in the period 1811–14.

These books have the merits and demerits of works not written for publication. Their style is rugged, but they contain much amusing gossip.

Familiar Correspondence is a collection of letters written by George Augustus Addison, who was born in Calcutta in 1792. His father, John Addison, was in the H.E.I.C.S. George, in accordance with the custom in those days, was sent to England at the age of five. When he was in his sixteenth year he returned to the land of his birth and set up as an indigo planter. He lost money in indigo, literature rather than planting being his forte. For some time he edited a manuscript periodical called *The Mofussil Magazine.* Finding he could not make money out of indigo he applied for the post of Deputy-Superintendent of Embankments which fell vacant in 1813. To his disappointment, Lord Minto, the then Governor-General, decided to make a saving for the Company by abolishing the post. After this Addison's

friends suggested to him that he should try to secure the editorship of a paper called *The Mirror*, the editor, Mr. C. K. Bruce, being about to retire and sell out his share. The man who purchased this was to mount the editorial chair. Addison refused to take up the speculation, because, although the paper had a large circulation, the advertisements were few and the popularity of the paper seemed to depend largely on the personality of Bruce. Shortly after this, Addison, thanks to the efforts of Sir George Nugent, Bart., the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in the East Indies, was appointed private secretary to Sir Stamford Raffles, Governor of Java, which was then a British possession. This post carried a salary of Rs.1200 a month. Addison sailed for Java in September, 1813, and died there in 1814.

Lady Nugent was the wife of Sir George Nugent, mentioned above, who went out to India in 1811. The most interesting portions of both the letters of Addison and the journal of Lady Nugent are those relating to the taking over of the Governor-Generalship by the Earl of Moira. On November 18th, 1812, that nobleman was appointed Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in the East Indies, to the great disgust of Nugent, since this caused him to be reduced to the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces on the Bengal Establishment as soon as Lord Moira assumed charge at Fort William. Nugent did not learn of his prospective degradation until April 30th, 1813, when he was at Cawnpore on tour.

Lady Nugent's journal runs :—"April 30th. Awoke at 3 by an express. As soon as it was light we sat down on the terrace to read our letters. Many from England

—Lord Moira coming out as Governor-General and it is said Sir G. is to go to Madras. The whole house in a bustle all day, and the staff with sad, long faces."

In former times, owing to the extensive patronage in the hands of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, a change in those offices caused far more excitement in official circles than it does to-day. The excitement was accentuated before the days of the cable by the delightful uncertainty as to the time of the arrival of the new incumbent. To illustrate from the case of the Nugents. The *Baring*, East-Indiaman, on which they came out, left England on June 29th, 1811, nine days late, and did not reach the Saugor Roads until January 10th, 1812.

Lady Nugent's diary for January 6th runs: "Saw a sail early this morning—it turned out to be the *Phæton* frigate—Captain Pellew. A Lieutenant came on board soon after, to hear the news from England, etc. On finding the new Commander-in-Chief was on board, the Captain and Mr. Fakenham, with Mr. Palmer, of Calcutta, soon followed to pay their compliments in due form. It seems we have been long expected, and the Government boats, the yacht, etc., have been waiting our arrival some weeks past, and that no less than six pilot vessels have been cruising off the Sandheads." Sir George did not land at Fort William until January 14th.

But this is a digression. We must return to the Nugents at Cawnpore, very disgusted at the news. On May 2nd, Lady Nugent writes: "We have no letters that clear up our uncertainties in the smallest degree, and I am now afraid that our suspense must last for some weeks. Lord Minto writes Sir G. word that he is in the same situation

with ourselves and totally in the dark with respect to the time of Lord Moira's coming out."

On August 10th, the Nugents returned to Calcutta.

Addison writes, early in September, of Lord Moira "The symptoms of his lordship's speedy departure from England are fast accumulating. Several of his suite are at Madras, and two riding horses and a Newfoundland dog are here."

On September 9th, Lady Nugent writes: "One of Lord Moira's aides-de-camp at breakfast, Major Foster," and on the 13th, "Had a large dinner party to meet the aides-de-camp of Lord Moira who have just arrived."

Addison writes about the same time: "Nothing is talked of but Lord Moira. I hope his lordship may be detained a little, however, at Madras or elsewhere; for it is said that having so many gentlemen to dispose of, fifty at least must be sent to seek their fortunes to the eastward, and I wish to anticipate them.

"Three or four of his aides-de-camp are here. Nothing can be more splendid than their dresses. The other poor *moosahibs* are quite eclipsed—gold lace, ostrich feathers, and moustaches in profusion.

"There is an ——, too, here, whose imagination has been sufficiently heated with tales of Indian wealth, as to have made him give up between two and three thousand pounds per annum in England to come out under Lord Moira's auspices."

That nobleman seems to have had an unusually large number of hangers-on, even for those days. Lady Nugent writes on October 3rd, a few days before his arrival: "We had a big dinner party contrary to our rule. The staff of Lord Moira were our principal guests. They are

very numerous, and all, as is manifest from their conversation, expect to be soon provided for; but I imagine Lord M. will find it an embarrassing task. Sir G.'s patronage, I suppose, will be confined to this Presidency, and he can now be of little use to his friends or to anyone."

Lord Moira was equal to the occasion. Lord Minto had been content with a staff consisting of a private secretary, five ordinary aides-de-camp, one extra one, and a surgeon. Lord Moira's staff was made up of a military secretary, a Persian interpreter, eight aides-de-camp, three supernumerary aides-de-camp and a surgeon.

On October 2nd, Lady Nugent writes: "A great many of the new staff to visit us to-day, and much was said about court dresses, court ceremonies, etc., intended to be introduced at the Government House. All this is rather amusing, but we hear and say nothing, being determined not to enter into any party business or interferences whatever." Six days later she writes: "Heard many ridiculous and idle reports to-day of the intended etiquettes of Government House. I am sure they will never be carried into effect, if Lady Loudon allows herself time to learn anything of the society here, or Lord Moira forms the least acquaintance with his subjects before the next intended drawing-room."

The position of a retiring Governor-General was not an enviable one in those days. As there was no railway he could not vanish immediately after he had given over charge, but had to remain on in Calcutta, often for weeks, shorn of his dignity.

On September 29th, 1813, Lady Nugent writes: "All the Calcutta world is in a state of bustle and

preparation. Poor Lord Minto in a great fuss to get out of the Government House in time for Lord Moira's arrival." Lord Minto gave over charge of the Governor-Generalship on October 4th, but was not able to leave Calcutta until seven weeks later. Lady Nugent writes: "On November 24th, I gave an assembly . . . on account of Lord Minto and his family being about to take their departure for England." All this time they had been living like ordinary mortals.

The relations between Lord Moira and Sir George Nugent were anything but cordial. On October 4th, after the latter had returned from the parade held on Lord Moira's arrival, she writes: "I heard all the proceedings, and cannot say, after the specimen that had been given by the cool verbal reply to Sir G.'s excellent and manly letter, I was much surprised to hear that Lord M. avoided all direct communication with him—referring him in the most extraordinary, and, I must say, unmilitary and ungentlemanlike way, to the staff for information, instead of addressing his conversation to their chief. By the manner in which Sir G. feels it all at present, I am sure it must end, ere long, in his resigning the command of the Bengal forces and returning to Europe. It seems, however, that his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of all India is not cancelled, but left in abeyance, to be resumed in case of anything happening to Lord Moira, or ill-health obliging him to return home." The following day she writes: "Further communications from Government House, and still of a vexatious nature." On the 6th she writes that Sir George, as the result of an interview with Lord Moira, is determined to resign as soon as he is relieved. The next day

she writes: "Constant arrangements for the new régime going on, though all communications are made through the staff, and everything is done to show Sir G. that it is meant he should be a cipher."

On the 12th she writes: "At daylight received a letter from Lady Loudon pressing me to come to the Government House to see Sir G. invested by Lord Moira with the Order of the Bath. I rejoiced for my dear N.'s sake when it was all over. Lord Moira's speech on the occasion was thought most extraordinary, and several people expressed indignation at the want of delicacy of one part of it, when he took occasion to say that Sir G. was shorn of his honours, meaning his patronage, which certainly was an odd way of expressing it. I don't think, however, he meant any real offence, but merely to display his own grandeur and eloquence, etc. I have his speech in print and mean to keep it as a curious specimen of his mistaken view of things."

On the 17th she writes that her husband "has hourly vexations and worries from Government House, and it is now evident that nothing will satisfy Lord Moira but the certainty of his resigning his appointment and returning to Europe." On November 30th she writes: "Lord M. pursues the system he began with; but now that Sir G. has told him he will resign, etc., all goes more smoothly. Still it requires some patience as there is such a mixture of vanity and folly altogether that it makes one sick."

But, the reader will ask, what about the ladies?

On October 6th Lady Nugent called at Government House, and writes: "I like Lady Loudon exceedingly, and heard from her a most delightful account of my dear,

dear children. I admire Lady Loudon's children exceedingly, and indeed they are charming little people. In short, I was charmed with my visit."

On the 11th she writes: "Had crowds of visitors all the morning; and in the evening Lady Loudon made me *a visit in state* before we took our drive. She seems very anxious about the ceremonies to be observed in her situation; but I could not much enlighten her on the subject, and specially when she wished to know if her zemindar was not disrespectful in coming into her presence in his shawl. He should, I believe, take off his slippers at the door, our people always do; but I think the shawl and scimitar are part of the insignia of his office."

On the 15th she writes: "After dinner we proceeded to the drawing-room at Government House. There was much awkwardness and no little confusion in the presentations, but, according to Lord M.'s remark, it will no doubt be better understood another time."

On January 21st, 1814, she writes of the Free Masons' Ball: "Lord Moira seemed to enjoy himself very particularly, and really appears to be very easily amused with anything like show, etc., and I should think him a good-natured man where his own interest or consequence is not concerned. I like Lady Loudon very much, though she appears at times very tenacious and fanciful about little matters. But we all have our foibles."

On April 21st she writes: "We all went before 11 o'clock to Lady Loudon's soirée.—An odd reception! General and Mrs. Blair not spoken to and most others not noticed; and it was late in the evening before Lady L. had even time to ask me how I did."

On the 30th she writes of the East's party: "Lord M.

most particularly civil and attentive to me, and so he has been ever since he knew Sir G. had resigned, and more *polite* to him also—What a world ! "

On May 14th she writes of Lady Loudon : " She is a well-intentioned, but a fidgety woman, and I am sure I should like her much, and she would probably not dislike me, if it were not for our relative situations, which makes her take a false notion of my conduct, and in consequence hers is not comfortable."

On the 24th June, Lord Moira and Lady Loudon went on tour and had not returned when the Nugents departed from India at the end of December. Thus there was no further cause for friction.

XVI

LITERARY CIVIL SERVANTS ON THE COMPANY'S BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT

MANY soldiers, sailors, doctors, engineers, clergymen. missionaries and men of business who lived in India in past years took to writing, but the list of the Company's civil servants who produced books is a short one. The Company's servants, more particularly those belonging to the judicial branch, were very hard-worked men. But this fact does not explain completely the smallness of the list. No matter how busy a man with strongly developed literary tastes may be, he will find means of indulging these. The most busy men enjoyed furlough, and all had leisure after retirement. The true explanation seems to have been that in the days of patronage comparatively few "brainy" men entered the Company's civil service. It was largely filled by younger sons of influential families.

A survey of the Bengal Civil Establishment shows that, apart from those whose literary efforts were confined to official reports, barely a couple of dozen have left books behind them. The list that follows may not be complete, but it certainly contains the name of nearly every civil servant on the Company's Bengal Establishment who wrote a book other than an official publication. The

number given against each name is that of the year in which the officer came out to India:

John Zephaniah Holwell	—
Henry Vansittart	—
Francis Gladwin	1765
Lord Teignmouth	1769
Sir Charles Wilkins	1770
Nathaniel Brassey Halhed	1772
Sir James Elliott Colebrooke, Bart. ..	1779
Henry Thomas Colebrooke	1789
The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone ..	1794
Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.	1796
Henry Thoby Prinsep	1807
Henry Meredith Parker	1813
Sir William Hay Macnaghten, Bart. ..	1813
The Hon. Frederick John Shore	1817
Augustus Prinsep	1820
Sir Henry Miers Elliot, K.C.B.	1826
Henry Whitelock Torrens	1827
Martin Richard Gubbins	1829
Charles Raikes	1830
Sir William Muir	1837
William Edwards	1837
Mark Bensley Thornhill	1840
Robert Needham Cust	1843
John Walter Sherer	1846
Henry George Keene	1847
Allan Octavian Hume	1849
Henry Dundas Robertson	1849

J. Z. Holwell, who was Governor of Bengal at the time of the "Black Hole" massacre in 1756, is the author of

Indian Tracts; An Address to the Proprietors of the East India Stock; and *Interesting Historical Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan.*

Henry Vansittart was Governor of Bengal from 1760 to 1764, and in 1766 published, in three volumes, a narrative of the transactions in Bengal during his Governorship. He was also the author of a number of controversial pamphlets.

Francis Gladwin was the first of a number of Oriental scholars who served in the Company's civil service. Gladwin spent the later years of his service at Patna, first as Collector of Government Customs and City Duties and then as Commercial Resident. He died at Patna on the 19th September, 1812. He is the author of *A Compendious Vocabulary, English and Persian, compiled for the use of the East India Company,* printed at Malda in 1780; *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians,* published at Calcutta in 1798; and *The Persian Moonshee.* Gladwin translated a number of Persian works, including the *Ayeen Akbary* and the *Gulistan* of Sadi. His translations have been through several editions.

Sir Charles Wilkins came out as a writer on the Bengal Establishment in 1770. He published in 1808 *A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language.* It was he who, to quote Marshman, "under the patronage of Warren Hastings, first unlocked the treasures of Sanskrit lore to the literati of Europe by the translation of the *Bhagwat Gita.*" Wilkins compiled the glossary of Oriental terms annexed to the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company in

1812–13. This glossary subsequently appeared in book form. Wilkins also translated the *Hitopodesa.*

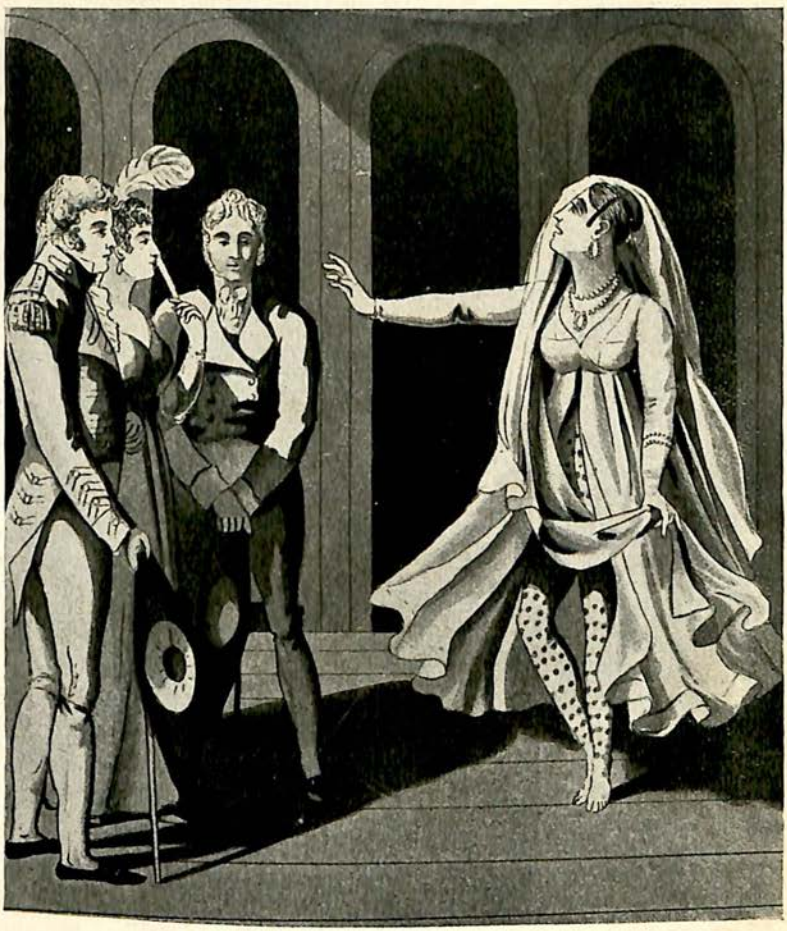
N. B. Halhed was another Oriental scholar. He arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1772. Four years later he published *A Code of Gentoo Laws.* This had been translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and from that language Halhed rendered it into English. Sir William Jones held a poor opinion of Halhed's work. He considered the code to be "extremely diffuse on subjects rather curious than useful," and declared that it was "full of gross and dangerous errors." We must, however, remember that Halhed was doing pioneer work. Halhed also published at Hoogly, in 1778, *A Grammar of the Bengali Language.* Marshman tells us that the first Bengali types used in India were those used for printing Halhed's *Grammar.* The punches for the fount were made by Wilkins, mentioned above, with his own hand.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke was the fourth of the little coterie of Civil Service Orientalists. He was the son of Sir George Colebrooke, Bart., who was for many years Chairman of the East India Company. Henry, who was the youngest of seven children, was born in 1765. He arrived in India in 1779 as a writer on the Bengal Establishment. He was at first employed in the Board of Accounts. For a time he was very dissatisfied with his lot in India. This is perhaps not surprising, as his emoluments for the whole year 1784 amounted to the sum of 661 sicca rupees! In 1785 he wrote to his father: "The truth is India is no longer a mine of gold; every one is disgusted, and all whose affairs permit abandon it as fast as possible." Later, in consequence of rapid promotion and absorption in Indian studies, he changed his opinion.

After residing three years in Calcutta he was appointed Assistant to the Collector of Revenue at Tirhoot. Then he was transferred to Purnea. In 1795 he was given the newly created appointment of Judge and Magistrate of Mirzapur. This suited him admirably, as it enabled him to visit Benares frequently in connection with his Sanskrit studies. In 1799 he was sent on as embassy to Nagpur. In 1803 he was made Chief Justice of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, which was the precursor of the present High Court. Two years later Colebrooke was given a seat in the Supreme Council at Calcutta. He retired in 1815 and died in 1837. Colebrooke may perhaps be described as the forerunner of James Prinsep. He contributed numerous papers to *Asiatic Researches*, the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, the *Transactions of the Linnæan Society* and the *Transactions of the Geological Society*. His contributions cover such varied subjects as climate, the height of the Himalayas, the geology of N.W. Bengal, descriptions of plants, micrometers, the philosophy of the Hindus, Indian weights and measures, the Jains, and Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry. The following is a list of the books he wrote: *Remarks on the Present State of Husbandry and Commerce in Bengal*, 1795; *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions*, 1798; *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, 1805; *The Amara Kosha, a Sanskrit Lexicon*, 1808; *Translation of Two Commentaries on the Dayabhaga*, 1810; *Translation of a Sanskrit Algebra*, 1817; *An Essay on the Import of Colonial Corn*, 1818; and a *Treatise on Obligations and Contracts*, 1818. After his death some of his essays were published in book

A NAUTCH GIRL DANCING BEFORE THREE EUROPEANS.

This picture is taken from *The European in India*, illustrated by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.



form by his son, Sir Thomas Elliott Colebrooke, Bart.

Henry's elder brother, Sir James Elliott Colebrooke, Bart., came to India as a writer on the Bengal Establishment in 1779. He eventually attained the position of Resident and Commisssioner of Delhi in 1829. He edited an edition of Elphinstone's *The Rise of the British Power in the East.*

The name of Mountstuart Elphinstone is so closely associated with Bombay that it is not generally realized that the owner of it was a civil servant on the Company's Bengal Establishment. Jonathan Duncan and Sir W. H. Macnaghten afford other instances of Bengal civilians appointed Governors of Bombay. Elphinstone arrived in Calcutta as a writer in 1794. Early in the nineteenth century he became Resident at Nagpur. In 1809 he was sent on an embassy to Kabul, which led to his publishing in 1815 *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India, comprising a view of the Afghaun Nation and a history of the Dooraunee Monarchy.* This went into several editions. After his return from Kabul, Elphinstone, in 1811, became Resident at the court of the Peshwa at Poona. He held this position until he became Governor of Bombay in 1819. He retired in 1827, being relieved by Sir John Malcolm. He lived to enjoy his pension for over thirty years. He wrote a report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa which was published in book form. His *Rise of the British Power in the East,* already mentioned, and his *History of India* are classics. In 1884 Mr. H. C. Forrest published some selections from the minutes and other official writings of Elphinstone, with a memoir.

Lord Teignmouth and his son, the Hon. Frederick John Shore, must be numbered among the Company's literary civil servants, since each wrote a book.

The first-named was born in 1751 and came out to India in 1769 as a writer on the Bengal Establishment. He was given a post in the Secret and Political Department on a salary of eight rupees a month. He spent nearly double his pay on house rent, nor could he make much out of trade, because the Company had recently taken away from their servants the right to trade free of duties. Shore was taken up by Warren Hastings, whom he accompanied to England in 1785. Shore returned from England with Cornwallis as a member of the Supreme Council. Ill-health caused him again to visit England, where he was made a baronet. When Cornwallis resigned in 1792 Shore went out to India as Governor-General. On his resignation in 1798 he was created Baron Teignmouth. He died in 1834. Teignmouth wrote in prose and verse, chiefly on religious subjects. He contributed frequently to the *Christian Observer*. The only book he published is *Memoirs of Sir William Jones*, which appeared in 1804. This is a slender production, being made up chiefly of Jones' correspondence.

The Hon. F. J. Shore came out to India in 1817 as a writer. He was for a time Assistant to the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners in the ceded and conquered provinces. He next went to Bulandshahr as Joint Magistrate, and, in 1822, became Superintendent of Dehra Dun in subordination to the Magistrate of the Northern Division of Saharanpur. In 1824 Shore reported that the inhabitants of Dehra Dun were so little civilized that the regulations adapted to the people of the plains

were not suitable for them. This resulted in the control of Dehra Dun being transferred from the Saharanpur authorities to the Commissioner of Kumaun. Later, Shore became Judge and Magistrate of Farrukhabad. He was somewhat eccentric. He took to wearing Indian dress and was the cause of a Government Order prohibiting the wearing of native costume by the Company's European servants. He published in 1837 two volumes entitled *Notes on Indian Affairs*.

These are a scathing indictment of the Company's rule in India. Shore saw things through jaundiced eyes, and most of what he writes needs to be taken *cum grano salis*. One of the most amusing chapters of an entertaining book is that which contains Shore's account of the overworked Judge and Magistrate. He is in Court from nine to five, during the whole of which period he works at high pressure, sometimes trying to do two things at the same time. Usually in the early morning he has to make a local inspection and, as often as not, the evenings are devoted to work. "I have known some," writes Shore, "who during breakfast time had the police reports read to them, and thus gained an additional hour in office. Such is the life of a Judge and Magistrate, who really attempts to perform his duty, without intermission from one year's end to the other. It is no exaggeration. I have known men go through this drudgery for five, six, aye, ten years together, sacrificing their time, their health, the comforts of domestic life and the society of their friends in a vain attempt to give satisfaction to those under their authority."

Sir Charles D'Oyly, the 7th Baronet, is the best known of a celebrated Anglo-Indian family, six of the baronets

and many other members of the family having served in India. Charles was the eldest son of the 6th Baronet, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, who was at one time Collector of Calcutta, and who became M.P. for Ipswich after he retired from the Civil Service.

Charles was born in India in 1781 and accompanied his parents to England in 1785. He entered the Company's Civil Service when in his sixteenth year. He became Collector of Dacca in 1808, Collector of Customs at Calcutta in 1818, Opium Agent in Bihar in 1821, Commercial Resident at Patna in 1831, and finally the Senior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. He retired in 1838 on account of ill-health, and lived chiefly in Italy, where he died in 1845.

Sir Charles D'Oyly is best known as an amateur painter. Several of the illustrations to this book are taken from D'Oyly's paintings and drawings. He had his own lithographic press in India, from which issued many of his sketches and those of other amateurs.

D'Oyly published several books; most of these are collections of sketches. His claim to literary fame is based on *Tom Raw, the Griffen: a Burlesque Poem.* This describes the adventures of a cadet in the Company's Bengal Army. It is illustrated by D'Oyly in colours. It was published anonymously in 1828 and has become a classic.

Henry Thoby Prinsep and Augustus Prinsep were members of another illustrious Anglo-Indian family. Some idea of the number of Prinseps who have spent part of their lives in India may be gathered from the fact that in the year 1829 no fewer than seven of the family were holding positions in India.

Henry Thoby was the fourth son of John Prinsep, who was in India from 1771 to 1787. Henry Thoby was born in 1792, and was appointed a writer on the Company's Bengal Establishment in 1807. Shortly after passing out of the College at Fort William he became Superintendent of Law Suits; later he filled in succession the posts of Persian Secretary and Secretary in the General and Foreign Department. He retired in 1839, but was in February, 1840, appointed a Member of the Supreme Council of India under the Earl of Auckland —a position which he held for four years. From 1850 to 1874 he was a Member of the Secretary of State's Council for India He died in 1878. He published several books; the best known of these is entitled *A Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions of British India under the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings,* 1813 *to* 1818. This appeared in 1820. Five years later an enlarged edition was published. Of his other works the following may be mentioned: *A Translation of the Memoirs of the Puthan Soldier of Fortune, the Nawab Ameer-ood-Doulah Mohummud Ameer Khan,* which appeared in 1832; *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and the Political Life of Ranjit Singh,* published in 1834 at Calcutta; *Note on the Historical Results deducible from Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan,* 1844; *Notions on Corn Laws and Customs Duties,* 1844; and *Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia: their Social and Political Condition and the Religion of Boodh, as there Existing,* 1851.

Augustus Prinsep obtained a writership in the Company's service in 1820. During the greater part of his short service he was Registrar and Assistant to the Magistrate of Ramghar. He died on a voyage to the

Cape, taken to restore his health. He published in 1829 *An Abstract of the Civil Judicial Regulations, enacted and published for the Provinces under the Presidency of Fort William.* In 1834 he published *The Babu and other Tales descriptive of Society in India.* These stories are readable, but Augustus Prinsep was not a Kipling.

Henry Meredith Parker was a civil servant, playwright, actor, journalist, poet, essayist and story-writer. Stocqueler, who knew him personally, describes him as a man of rare talents and brilliant attainments. He was the son of a celebrated Covent Garden Theatre danseuse, and he was himself in the days of his youth a violinist at that playhouse. Lord Moira took him up and procured for him, first an appointment in the Tower of London, then a clerkship in the Commissariat. Parker served in the Peninsular War and in 1813 obtained a writership in the Company's Bengal Civil Service. He held the following appointments before he retired in 1843 : Assistant to the Superintendent of the Western Salt Chaukis, Assistant Salt Agent at Chittagong, Secretary to the Board of Customs, and Senior Member of the Board of Customs Salt and Opium. For several years Parker managed the theatre at Calcutta and wrote several farces, some of which were plagiarized from the French. He was a friend of James Silk Buckingham and, at considerable risk to himself, supported Buckingham's paper, the *Calcutta Journal.* The best known of Parker's books are : *Bole Ponjis,* the *Draught of Immortality,* the *Empire of the Middle Classes,* and *A Plan for the Home Government of India.*

Sir William Hay Macnaghten, Bart., came out to India as a writer in 1813. After leaving the College at Fort

William he was appointed Assistant in the office of the Registrar of the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut. He became Registrar of this Court after a few years' service and held the position for many years. He then became Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. In 1838 he was sent, along with Sir A. Burnes, as an Envoy to Afghanistan. In August, 1841, the Court of Directors appointed him to be Governor of Bombay, but he was assassinated at Kabul in December, 1841, and so never took charge of the Governorship. He was the author of *Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law* which was published in two volumes at Calcutta during the years 1828 and 1829. This work has run through many editions. Macnaghten also published reports of cases determined by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. He edited an Arabic edition of the *Alif Laila, or Books of the One Thousand Nights and One Night.* This was published at Calcutta in four volumes at the price of fifteen rupees a copy.

Henry Whitelock Torrens came out as a writer on the Bengal Establishment in 1827, and was for many years Secretary of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, at Calcutta. Then he became Agent to the Governor-General at Moorshedabad. He did not live to earn a pension. He published a translation of Macnaghten's edition of the *One Thousand Nights and One Night.* After his death James Hume published at Calcutta two volumes of selections from the prose and poetical writings of Torrens, with a biographical memoir.

Sir Henry Miers Elliot, K.C.B., joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1826. His first appointment was that of Assistant to the Political Resident and Commissioner at

Delhi; later he became Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue at N.W.P., and then Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

He published at Agra, in 1845, a *Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms*, and at Calcutta, in 1849, Part I of a *Biographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*. Elliot was cut off in the prime of life before he had completed his great work on the *History of India*. However, he left behind him sufficient materials to enable Professor John Dawson to produce eight volumes entitled: *The History of India as told by its own Historians—The Muhammadan Period.*

Martin Richard Gubbins joined the Company's service in 1829, and in the course of his Indian career filled the following posts: Settlement Officer of Etawah, Magistrate and Collector of Farrukhabad, Magistrate and Collector of Delhi, and Financial Commissioner of Oudh. He published *An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh and of the Siege of the Lucknow Residency*, which passed through several editions.

Charles Raikes joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1830. He was a Settlement Officer for some years and then became Magistrate and Collector of Mainpuri. At the time of the Mutiny he was a Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, N.W.P. He wrote *Notes on the North-Western Provinces of India; Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India;* and *The Englishman in India.*

Sir William Muir joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1837. He was for some time Secretary to the Board of Revenue, N.W.P., and, at the outbreak of the Mutiny, was Secretary to the N.W.P. Government. The best

known of his books are : *The Life of Mahomet; Annals of the Early Caliphate;* and *The Coran.*

Mark Bensley Thornhill was appointed to the Bengal Civil Service in 1840. He was Magistrate and Collector of Muttra during the Mutiny. He published : *The Personal Adventures and Experiences of a Magistrate During the Rise, Progress and Suppression of the Indian Mutiny,* and *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*—a very readable book.

William Edwards was appointed to the Bengal Establishment in 1837. Among others he held the following offices in the course of his career in India : Deputy-Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces ; Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department ; Superintendent of the Hill States and Magistrate and Collector of Simla ; and Civil and Sessions Judge of Benares.

He published : *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilkhand, Fattehgarh and Oudh,* 1858 ; and *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian,* 1837–65. He edited Lieut.-General Sir George Lawrence's *Reminiscences of Forty-three Years in India.*

Robert Needham Cust was a prolific writer. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. H. L. Cust and of Lady Anna Needham, daughter of the Earl of Kilmorey. He had a distinguished school career, being captain of the Oppidans at Eton and Senior of Haileybury College. At Fort William he passed the High Proficiency tests in Urdu and Sanskrit and the Degree of Honour in Persian. He arrived in India in 1843 and held among others the following appointments : Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur, Deputy Commissioner of Ambala, Collector of

Banda, Collector of Allahabad, Commissioner of Lahore, Commissioner of Amritsar, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, Special Commissioner of the Punjab, Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and Member of the Board of Revenue, N.W.P. He went on leave for the third time in 1867 when he had put in nine months short of the twenty-one years' service necessary for a full pension. As two of his friends, who had returned to India to complete their service for pension, died in harness, and as he was not enjoying good health, he retired on an invalid pension of only £450 a year. The Indian Civil Service is largely indebted to Lord Curzon for the less illiberal invalid pension rules that are now in force.

Cust published in 1899 an autobiography in which he gives a complete list of his writings. The list contains no fewer than 1226 items. Those that appeared in book form fill fifty-one volumes, chiefly on subjects connected with India, Africa and religion. Cust wrote both in prose and verse. The best known of his publications are: *Linguistic and Oriental Essays; Pictures of Indian Life; Poems of Many Years and Many Places;* and *A Code of Land Revenue for Northern India.*

John Walter Sherer joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1846 and served chiefly in the North-Western Provinces. He published *Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny, Personal Experiences of* 1857*; At Home and in India;* and a novel entitled *A Princess of Islam.* This is perhaps the first novel from the pen of an Indian civilian.

Henry George Keene was a writer quite as prolific as R. N. Cust. Keene came to India in 1847 and spent most of his early service in Dehra Dun, first as Assistant-Superinten-

dent, then as Superintendent. Keene's writings fall generally into four classes—poetry, reminiscences, history and guide books. Among his volumes of verse may be mentioned *Ex Eremo*, published in 1855, and *Pipal Leaves*, which appeared in 1879. His books of reminiscences are entitled *Fifty-Seven; A Servant of John Company; Here and There;* and *Under the Empress.* Of his historical works the following may be cited: *History of India*, two volumes; *The Great Anarchy; Madhava Rao Scindhia; The Fall of the Mogul Empire;* and *The Turks in India.* The numerous guide books compiled by him, most of which have run through several editions, relate to the towns of Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad and Cawnpore.

Allan Octavian Hume joined the Company's Civil Service in 1849. When the Mutiny broke out he was Magistrate and Collector of Etawah. He was one of the pioneers of Indian ornithology, and between 1867 and 1882 wrote a number of books dealing with Indian birds, and, for nearly ten years, edited an Indian ornithological journal entitled *Stray Feathers.* His book on the game birds of India, illustrated by Colonel Marshall, is beloved of sportsmen. Hume also wrote on agricultural reform and on the Indian National Congress, of which he was an adherent.

Henry Dundas Robertson joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1849. He served chiefly in the N.W.P., and, after the Mutiny, was made Deputy Commissioner for the Detection of Rebels. He published *District Duties during the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces, with Remarks on Subsequent Investigations during* 1858–9.

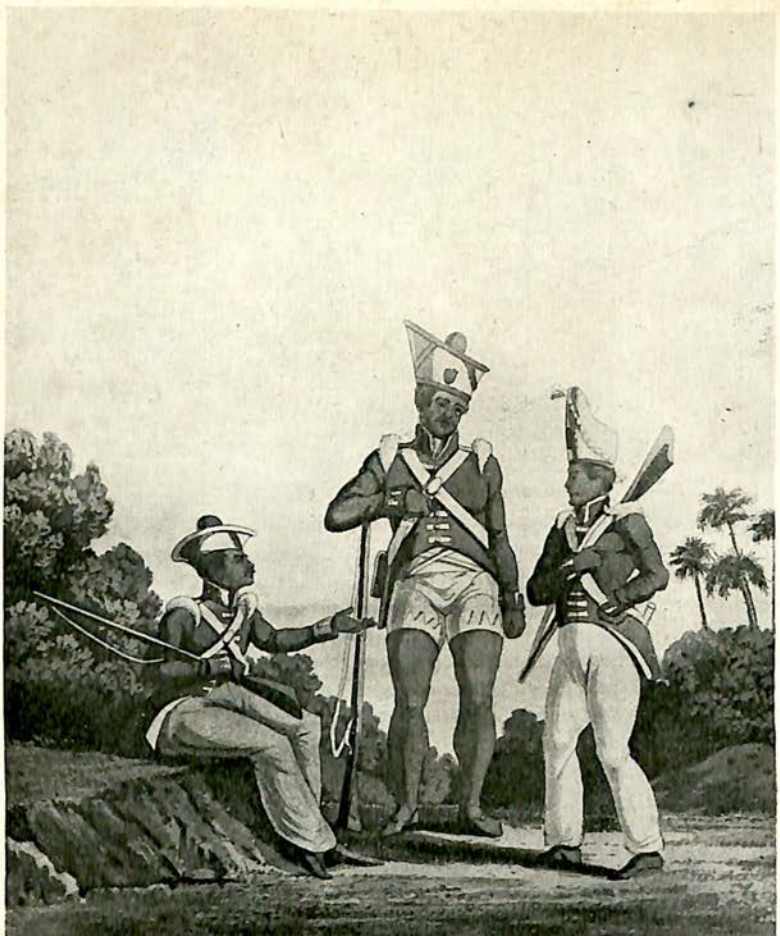
XVII

LUCKNOW IN NAWABI TIMES

IT is to be hoped that in the near future someone will do for Lucknow that which Busteed has done for Calcutta, namely, write a gossipy book, dealing not only with the Europeans who lived in the capital of Oudh, but also with the Nawabs, Kings and other Indians of note connected with the city. Quite apart from unpublished manuscripts there are ample materials for such a work in the writings of Sleeman and the many Englishmen and others who visited Lucknow either on duty or for pleasure.

The first three Nawabs made Fyzabad their head-quarters. The fourth Nawab, Asaf-ud-daula, who figures in Zoffany's well-known picture of a cock-fight at Lucknow, preferred to live at a distance from his mother, and accordingly took up his residence at Lucknow, which he proceeded to transform from a mere village to a town. Among other things, he built the Imambara, the Rumi Darwaza, the palace which subsequently became the Residency, and a bridge over the Gumpti.

Asaf-ud-daula was in some respects the greatest of the Nawabs. His court was far more magnificent than that of the Great Mogul. From the time of Asaf-ud-daula onwards, it was the Nawab Vizier rather than the King



SEAPOYS.

of the Bombay, Bengal & Madras Armies.

Engraved by B. Terrell.

SEPOYS OF THE COMPANY'S BENGAL, BOMBAY AND MADRAS ARMIES.

The Bengal sepoy is in the middle and the Bombay sepoy is sitting.

This illustration is taken from FitzClarence's *Journal of a Route across India*, 1819.

of Delhi who attracted adventurers, for, where wealth is, there will seekers after fortune flock.

Long before the annexation of the province there was a considerable European colony at Lucknow. Apart from traders and planters, and soldiers, painters, and others employed by the Nawab, there were the servants of the Company, the Resident and his assistant and surgeon, and the officers of the Company's troops detached for the protection of the capital.

In 1794 Thomas Twining, a young civil servant, was ordered to accompany Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's army, on a tour through Northern India.

Twining reached Lucknow on the 5th January, 1795. In his diary for that day he writes: "I dined to-day with Mr. Orr, an English merchant, and met a large party of English gentlemen, among whom was Dr. James Laird, brother of the head physician who accompanied Sir Robert Abercromby from Calcutta. There were also Mr. Paul and Mr. and Mrs. Arnot. Mrs. Arnot enjoyed the distinction of being the handsomest lady in India."

Orr was the owner of several cotton-cloth factories, one of which was as far afield as Tanda, near Fyzabad. Orr also possessed a bungalow at Tanda. He spent many years in Oudh and was later joined by a relative.

Sleeman tells us that Mian Ali Khan, "the greatest and best man of any note that Oudh has produced," lent large sums to the Mr. Paul mentioned above and to a Mr. Ousely, and that when he found his death approaching he called for all their bonds and destroyed them; by this each of these gentlemen is said to have gained more than three lakhs of rupees.

Writing of the English at Lucknow in 1795 Twining says: "This style in which this remote colony lived was surprising, it far exceeding even the expense and luxuriousness of Calcutta. As it was the custom of these families to dine alternately with each other, they had established a numerous band of musicians who played during dinner. I had singular pleasure on hearing some old English and Scotch airs played extremely well."

Twining writes of the Nawab: "In polished and agreeable manners, in public magnificence, in private generosity, and, also, it must be allowed, in wasteful profusion, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, Nawab of Oudh, might probably be compared with the most splendid sovereigns of Europe." Some idea of the extravagance of this Nawab may be gained from the contents of the Ina Khana—the building in which were deposited English objects of all kinds. In this were crowded together, with the confusion of a lumber-room, watches, clocks, scientific instruments, fire-arms, glass and furniture. Asaf-ud-daula appears to have had a mania for timepieces. "The number of clocks and watches," writes Twining, "was quite extraordinary. Many of them were very beautiful, and were said to have cost the Nawab immense sums. All were placed without regard to order or reference to their qualities or value. A valuable chronometer, or one which had been sold as such, would be suspended next to a common watch of the most ordinary description, and which, indeed, had possibly cost the Nawab as much as the chronometer. Both toys, having equally amused and deluded the Nawab for a few minutes, were consigned to this cabinet, never perhaps to be seen again. From the ceilings were suspended more than a thousand glass

lustres of the most costly description, while a much larger number of wall and table-shades were scattered on tables about the rooms. One clock was said to have cost the Vizier a lakh of rupees, or upwards of £10,000. . . . The amount said to be annually expended on these purchases would exceed belief, if the extreme childishness of the Nawab in things of this sort, and the boundless imposition of the vendors were not notorious."

Asaf-ud-daula possessed nearly a thousand elephants and about the same number of saddle horses. He had also imported, at immense expense, three English dray horses, not for use, but as curiosities.

The royal residence was on an extensive scale, but as regards architecture was far inferior to that of the King at Delhi. The city itself was a miserable spectacle, the streets were narrow and dirty and crowded with bazaars and poor people. "It was evident," writes Twining, "that splendour was confined to the palace, while misery pervaded the streets: the true image of despotism."

In view of the extravagance of Asaf-ud-daula it is not surprising that at the time of his death in 1798 the treasury was empty and the pay of the public establishments much in arrears.

He was succeeded by his half-brother, Saadat Ali Khan, who, according to Sleeman, was the best of the rulers of Oudh. Having to meet his brother's debts and having himself extravagant tastes, which he at first indulged freely, he soon found himself in difficulties, and, in consequence, harboured thoughts of handing over Oudh to the Company and himself retiring into private life. Eventually he handed over half his country to the British in return for their undertaking the external and internal

defence of what was left to him. Thus, the Company acquired in 1801 the Ceded Provinces which formed the nucleus of the present province of Agra. On handing over part of his territory, he determined to turn over a new leaf, and made a solemn vow at the shrine of Hazrat Abbas at Lucknow to cease from all indulgences and devote all his time and attention to his public duties. "This vow," writes Sleeman, "he kept, and no Sovereign of Oudh has ever conducted the Government with so much ability as he did for the remaining fourteen years of his life."

As regards beautifying Lucknow he continued the policy of Asaf-ud-daula, and built the Dilkusha and the Farhat Bakhsh, which was the chief royal palace till the Kaisar Bagh was constructed.

Notwithstanding these building operations he opened a reserve treasury, in whch the deposits at the time of his death in 1814 amounted to fourteen crores. He left no debts.

It should be mentioned that Saadat Ali Khan spent his early years in Calcutta, where he mixed much with the English and became impregnated with English ideas. He was through his life a staunch friend to the Company.

Although he contrived to save so much money, he was able to maintain an establishment befitting an Eastern monarch. Of this a lady—the wife of a British officer who visited Lucknow in the hot weather of 1805, and who writes under the initials "A. D.," gives some account, and this shows that the Nawab put a liberal interpretation on the vow which he had taken.

Says this lady: "The city of Lucknow, excepting the

Nawab's palaces, is neither so large nor so splendid as that of Benares; his premises are of course superb, and his stud exceeded both in quality and number that of any other potentate. His table, to which all the English of any rank were welcome, had in every respect the appearance of a nobleman's in England, and no nobleman of any country could possess greater suavity of manners or more generous politeness. At the time I am speaking of he was about fifty years of age; his figure tall, athletic and commanding, with features expressive and rather handsome, his complexion by no means dark for a native, and his eyes a fine hazel. On his table were always three distinct dinners, one at the upper end by an English cook; at the lower end by a French cook; and in the centre (where he always sat), by a Hindostanee cook.

"Hog-meat, wine and turkeys being forbidden by the prophet Mahomed, he allowed himself the latitude of seeking substitutes: accordingly a bottle of cherry brandy was placed on the table by him, from which he pledged his European guests, and called it English syrup; while the hams on his table (which all came from England) he called English venison, and therefore ate with impunity. He understood the English language perfectly and wrote it correctly, but could not pronounce the words. While we were in Lucknow, a quantity of Worcestershire china arrived that had been sent to the Nawab from England. He was as impatient to open it as a child would be with a new plaything; and immediately gave orders for invitations to be sent to the whole settlement for breakfast *à la fourchette* next morning. Tables were accordingly spread for upwards of a hundred persons, including his ministers and officers of State. Nothing could be

more splendid than the general appearance of the entertainment; but our dismay may be more easily imagined than described on discovering that his servants had mistaken certain utensils for milk bowls, and had actually placed about twenty of them, filled with that beverage, along the centre of the table. The consequence was that the English part of the company declined taking any; upon which the Nawab innocently remarked, 'I thought that the English were fond of milk.' Some of them had much difficulty to keep their countenances." In 1810 Saadat Ali obtained from England the iron bridge that now spans the Gumpti, but this was not taken out of the packing cases in which it came until they had been lying in Lucknow for more than thirty years.

Some idea of the number of European residents in Lucknow during the reign of Saadat Ali Khan may be gained from the fact that the East India Register for 1806 shows that the following servants of the Company were stationed there: Colonel John Collins, Resident; Captain P. Bradshaw, Secretary to the Resident; R. Wilson, Surgeon; and Captain D. Lyons, commanding the escort. The list of non-official European inhabitants which, in all probability was not complete, shows that there were thirteen traders or merchants, two painters, two indigo manufacturers, one cloth manufacturer, one musician, three persons whose profession is not stated, and two men in the personal service of Colonel Collins.

Saadat Ali Khan was succeeded in 1814 by his son Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who was raised by the British to the status of King. This ruler followed the example set by his father and uncle by adding to the buildings in Lucknow. It was he who caused to be erected the

Chattar Manzil, the Mubarak Manzil, the Shah Manzil, where wild beast fights used to take place, and the Moti Mahal. He, adhering to the family custom, erected his own tomb—the Shah Najef. Bishop Heber, who visited Lucknow in 1824, gives in his *Travels* a most interesting account of Ghazi-ud-din. "The King of Oude," writes the Bishop, "is rather a tall man, and being long-backed and sitting on a somewhat higher cushion than his neighbours, looks particularly so at his own table. He has evidently been very handsome, and still has good features and a pleasing countenance, though he looks considerably older than he is. . . . His curling hair and whiskers are quite grey, and his complexion has grown, I understand, much darker within these few years, being now, indeed, perhaps the darkest in his court. . . . The King of Oude . . . is evidently fond of dress and is said to be a critic in that of others as well as his own; and his palaces, his new Imambara, his throne room, jewels and all the many other fine things which we visited . . . though extremely costly, and marked by a cultivated taste, and an eye familiar with European models, are less solid and massive in their properties, and impress the mind with far less magnificence than the proud Rumi Darwaza, and the other works of his more frugal and fortunate father and uncle. His manners are very gentlemanly and elegant, though the European ladies who visit his court complain that he seldom pays them any attention."

Although Saadat Ali was very English in his ways, he kept his son free from all European intercourse and instruction, and in consequence Ghazi-ud-din's knowledge of English was not great. He was, however, a

student and was learned in Oriental philosophy and had a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry. He employed an Englishman named Tuckett as his architect and engineer, and one, Thomas Denham, as his chief mechanic. Heber tells us that besides the numerous dependents of the residency the King had "a great many Europeans and half-castes in his employ." "There were also," he adds, "many tradesmen of both these descriptions, and a strange medley of adventurers of all nations and sects, who ramble hither in the hope, generally a fruitless one, of obtaining employment." Heber breakfasted with the King in his palace near the Residency. "We went there," he writes, "in long procession, the Resident (Mordaunt Ricketts) in his state palanquin . . . I in a tonjon, the rest of the party in all manner of conveyances. The Resident had a very numerous suwarry of armed men, silver sticks, etc., and my servants were so anxious that I should make a good appearance on the occasion, that they begged permission to put on their new blue coats, though the day was so hot that it was painful to see them thus loaded. There was the usual show of horse and foot guards in the approaches to the palace, and the street was lined with the same picturesque crowd of irregular gendarmerie which I had seen on entering the town. We were set down at the foot of a strangely mean stone staircase, resembling rather that leading to a bath-room than anything else, on the summit of which the King received us, first embracing the Resident, then me. He next offered an arm to each of us, and led us into a long and handsome, but rather narrow, gallery, with good portraits of his father and Lord Hastings, over the two chimney-pieces, and some very splendid glass lustres

hanging from the ceiling. The furniture was altogether English, and there was a long table in the middle of the room, set out with breakfast, and some fine French and English china. He sat down in a gilt arm-chair in the centre of one side, motioning to us to be seated on either side. The Prime Minister sat down opposite, and the rest of the table was filled by the party from the Residency, and about an equal number of natives, among whom were one of the King's grandsons, the Commander-in-Chief, and one or two others. The King began by putting a large hot roll on the Resident's plate and another on mine, then he sent similar rolls to the young Nawab, his grandson, who sat on the other side of me, to the Prime Minister, and one or two others. Coffee, tea, butter, eggs, and fish were then carried round by the servants, and things proceeded much as at a public breakfast in England. The King had some mess of his own in a beautiful covered French cup, but the other Mussulmans ate as the Europeans did."

Mr. Ricketts, the Resident referred to above, married the widow of a Company's servant named George Ravenscroft. The last had rather a sad career. He is said to have been one of the most handsome and most athletic men in India. He was for several years Collector of Cawnpore, where he lived beyond his means, and used for his private purposes money taken from the treasury. In order to be able to refund this he speculated, but unsuccessfully. After he had taken large sums from the treasury he absconded to Oudh and took refuge with the Raja of Bhinga, who concealed him and gave him some land. Ravenscroft erected, of bamboo and grass, a mean house for himself, wife, and child, and projected

establishing himself as an indigo planter. One of the Raja's sons resented Ravenscroft's presence on his father's estate and had him murdered in May, 1823. Mrs. Ravenscroft managed to escape with her child, and eventually reached Lucknow, where she met and married Ricketts.

Ghazi-ud-din died in 1827, leaving four crores of rupees in the reserve treasury. He was succeeded by his son, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, of whom Knighton has given so good an account in his *The Private Life of an Eastern King*. This monarch took as one of his wives the illegitimate daughter of a man named Walters, who had retired on half-pay from the British Army and came to Lucknow as an adventurer. After his death, his daughter embraced Mahomedanism, assumed the name of Mokuddera Ouleea, and married the King. She was a dissolute woman, and it was not surprising that the King became estranged from her; nevertheless he allowed her to acquire considerable wealth. In the ten years of his reign Nasir-ud-din squandered nearly the whole of the balance in the reserve treasury, leaving only seventy lakhs in it.

Like his father he had scientific tastes, and employed Colonel Wilcox as his astronomer-royal, and built an observatory. He was also much interested in steamships, and purchased a steamer in which he used to make excursions on the Ganges. He subscribed liberally to the Bengal Steam Navigation Fund. He also acquired some reputation as a poet. He died in 1837, and was succeeded by his uncle, Muhammad Ali Shah, but not without some opposition, of which von Orlich gives the following account :—

"The widow of the late King wished that her adopted grandson, Man Jan, should be King, and she succeeded in seeing him placed on the throne; for a few hours, in the Baradehri of the palace. Colonel Low, who at that time resided at the court, with his brother-in-law, Captain Shakespeare, was in the palace endeavouring to dissuade the King's widow from this step; but all his remonstrances were fruitless, and he was for a time exposed to the greatest danger from her adherents, from which he and his brother-in-law were not relieved until the troops burst open the gates of the palace by means of elephants. The queen-mother with the pretender and the chief partisan were taken prisoners and conveyed to Chunar."

Prince Alexis Soltykoff visited Lucknow in December, 1841, shortly before Muhammad Ali Shah's death. He made no attempt to see the old and enfeebled King, but gives a description of Colonel Low, the Resident, whom, he considered, did not look at all like an Englishman, but had much more the air of an amiable Frenchman. Low spoke French admirably, to the delight of Soltykoff; knowledge of French at that time being possessed by very few Englishmen in India. Low lived in great state. The howdah of his elephant was a wonderful affair, shaped like a pair of swans, cut in silver gilt, set off by imitation diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, which hung loosely on it and jingled as the great quadruped moved. Whenever Low went abroad he was accompanied by a dozen horsemen. Shortly after Soltykoff visited Lucknow Low tendered his resignation, but had to withdraw it because of the failure of the firm of Palmer and Company, Calcutta, of which Low's brother

was a partner and in which Low had deposited all his savings.

Although almost completely bed-ridden Muhammad Ali Shah took some pains to continue the improvement of Lucknow. He spent a large sum in making the Husainabad a broad and handsome street. He also built, for the reception of his mortal remains, a tomb, which is known as the Husainabad Imambara. This is described in the *Gazetteer of India* as "a tawdry building in which the degeneration of intellectual taste is distinctly marked." This building, which was nearing completion at the time of Soltykoff's visit, was rather admired by him. He writes :

"I then entered a large and busy street . . . at the end of which was a magnificent moorish gateway, beyond this rose gracefully proportioned minarets with gilded cupolas, like those of the Kreml of Moscow. These, together with the avenue crowded with fantastic people, produced a superb effect. The gateway led to the walled enclosure which the old King had chosen for his resting-place. I went inside, and was astounded to find that the enclosure contained a collection of all that was charming and amusing : several moorish edifices of marvellous design, fountains, aviaries in which were most extraordinary and beautiful birds. Some of the buildings were still under construction. They are intended to be places of resort of the people on fête days. The King's mother rests in the largest building under a miniature silver gilt mosque. This building is composed of four or five vaulted chambers separated by pillars and arcades." Soltykoff then goes on to describe the hundreds of glass lustres, chandeliers, and lamps, and the horses and tigers

made of glass, silver or painted wood, which were crowded into the building.

When von Orlich visited Lucknow, fifteen months after Soltykoff had left, the body of Muhammad Ali Shah was lying in a silver sarcophagus in the building designed for its reception, and Amjad Ali Shah was King of Oudh. Von Orlich was presented to this ruler on the 2nd March, 1843. The audience took place at the Farahbakhsh. General Nott, who had a few days previously taken over charge of the post of Resident, and Captain Shakespeare, the Assistant Resident, were also present. "The King," writes von Orlich, "accompanied by a numerous suite of courtiers, came to meet us at the staircase of the Farahbakhsh. General Nott presented me to His Majesty, who gave me his hand and addressed some kind words to me. He is a tall, corpulent man, with a good-natured, but very ugly countenance, which is disfigured by a nose of extraordinary size. A green silk choga, embroidered with gold and silver, fell from his shoulders to the ankles; red silk pantaloons and shoes, embroidered with gold and the points turned up, completed his dress. He wore a high cap, like a tiara, covered with jewels, several strings of large handsome pearls hung round his neck, and two costly diamond rings on his finger. His mode of life and the bias of his inclinations were painfully impressed on his languid countenance. His Majesty had four wives, nearly two hundred concubines, and a great number of children. One of the King's wives (if the portrait shown to me is faithful) must be one of the handsomest women in India. Effeminate, weak, and without character, the King loves neither the dangers and fatigues of the chase, nor the privations of a military life;

he fancies he has a taste for building, and at present he is possessed with the mania of having all the houses in the city coloured or painted." As the Resident had some private business to conduct with the King, von Orlich had time to look round the palace. He noticed a table crowded with head-dresses, and was told that the King liked to change his head-gear very frequently. The private business being concluded, the King sent for his visitor, made him sit opposite him and conversed about the King of Prussia and his army. "The Amin-ud-daula then appeared with *hars*, chains wrought of silver thread linked with seven shields, on which the royal arms—two swords, a fish, the tiara, and a crown—are stamped in gold. Of these chains of honour, there are, if I may so express myself, two classes, but both are equally tasteless and worthless, for were it otherwise the recipient would not be permitted to keep them: that of the first class is valued at twenty rupees. The King first hung the chain of the first class round the neck of General Nott, who thanked His Majesty and the Prime Minister; I was then honoured with a similar chain, and as there were no more of the first class left, Captain Shakespeare received two of the second class. This ceremony was succeeded by the distribution of attar of roses, which was the signal for us to take leave. We were accompanied by His Majesty to the lowest step of the Farahbakhsh, and, on parting, he embraced us and cordially shook hands."

Amjad Ali Shah built his own mausoleum in Hazratganj, and it was in his time that the iron bridge imported by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar was erected; but he was not a good king, and not the least of his misdeeds was the way in which he brought up his son, Wajid Ali

Shah, the last King of Oudh, who ascended the throne in 1847.

Wajid Ali Shah built the Kaisarbagh, "the largest, gaudiest, and most debased of all the Lucknow palaces."

Colonel (later Major-General Sir W. H.) Sleeman became Resident at Lucknow in 1849, and he gives, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, a most unfavourable account of the King. He tells us that he was a hypochondriac who refused to consult the Residency Surgeon, but obtained medical advice from quacks, fakirs, and a man who styled himself the king of the fairies and who extorted large sums of money.

"The King," writes Sleeman, "is utterly unfit to have anything to do with the administration, since he has never taken, or shown any disposition to take, any heed of what is done or suffered in the country. My letters have made no impression whatever on him. He spends all his time with the singers and the females they provide to amuse him, and is for seven or eight hours together living in the house of the chief singer, Rajee-od-Dowla—a fellow who was only lately beating a drum to a party of dancing-girls, on some four rupees a month. These singers are all Domes, the lowest of the low castes of India, and they and the eunuchs are now the virtual sovereigns of the country. The King sees nobody else save the singers and eunuchs. His sons have been put under their care and will be brought up in the same manner. He has become utterly despised and detested by his people for his apathy amidst so much suffering." Later Sleeman writes of the King: "He squanders the State jewels among the singers and eunuchs, who send them out of the country as fast as they can. . . . No

member of the royal family or aristocracy of Oudh is ever admitted to speak to or see His Majesty, and these contemptible singers are admitted to more equality and familiarity than his own brothers or sons ever were; they go out, too, with greater pomp than they or any of the royal family can, and are ordered to be received with more honours as they pass through the different palaces. The profligacy that exists within the palace passes all belief, and these things excite more disgust among the aristocracy of the capital than all the misrule and malversation that arise from the King's apathy and incapacity."

XVIII

THREE FRENCHMEN ON ENGLISH SOCIETY IN INDIA

SOME of the Frenchmen who visited India in the days of the Company wrote books on British India. These books are of interest to Englishmen, because they enable them to see themselves as they appear to others. In the thirties three young Frenchmen paid prolonged and independent visits to India and wrote accounts of their experiences. These are Victor Jacquemont, de Warren, and Fontanier. They came to India and their books were published in the order in which their names are given above: thus de Warren had the advantage of reading what Jacquemont had to say before he committed himself to paper, and Fontanier was able to refer to the writings of his two immediate predecessors.

Jacquemont is the best known of the three, chiefly because his *Letters from India* has been translated into English. He was born in 1801. In 1828 he was charged with a scientific mission to India by the Museum of Natural History at Paris. He left France in August of that year, and arrived at Calcutta in May, 1829. He remained at Calcutta until November, 1829, in order to ascertain what had already been done in the way of Indian natural history. He then visited the Himalayas and Kashmir.

In February, 1832, he went to the Bombay Presidency, where he died of abscess on the liver on December 7th, 1832.

Jacquemont was a typical young Frenchman of his time—a republican visionary prejudiced against the English, whom he regarded as the hereditary foes of France. To use his own words, he was "a lukewarm Catholic and not a very ardent Christian."

He was treated with wonderful kindness by all whom he came across in India, from the Governor-General downwards. At every station he was put up by some local official. During the whole of the time he was at Calcutta he was the guest of Englishmen, most of the time of Mr. Pearson, the Advocate-General. He also stayed with the Bentincks and Sir Edward Ryan, a judge of the Supreme Court. He writes: "The honourable recommendations I have brought have thrown all respectable houses open to me. I chose those in which I thought I should be most at liberty to pursue my studies without interruption."

Naturally, all this kindness was not without effect. His criticisms of the English tended to become less and less severe the longer he stayed in India. To quote a contributor to the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for February, 1834: "On behalf of England, Jacquemont is a witness above suspicion: his prejudices, which never wholly disappeared, were all against the British Government; and it is sometimes amusing to see how slowly and reluctantly, in the early part of his career, he yielded to the strong evidence of facts, while in some of his more recent letters he rallies his correspondents unmercifully for repeating opinions which he had himself entertained a few months before."

The writings of Jacquemont on India were published posthumously. They consist of letters to his family and friends, and of his diary.

The former, which were the first to appear, were translated into English, and published in two volumes, entitled, *Letters from India.*

His journals appeared piecemeal between 1841 and 1844, under the title, *Voyage dans L'Inde.* This publication consists of six bulky volumes, of which three are composed of maps and pictures made from Jacquemont's sketches, chiefly of biological specimens, but they include some heads of Indians and views in Kashmir.

Neither work has great literary merit, but the journal is not without scientific value.

His letters, which were probably not written for publication, although Fontanier declares that they were, show him to have been a conceited young man. He appears, however, to have concealed his conceit from the English in India, whom he seems to have charmed by his manners. He accounts for his popularity as follows: "The fact is a Frenchman has much greater facility in entering into an Englishman's friendship than another Englishman—they are like bodies similarly electrified, which repel each other. We are decidedly much more amiable, much more affectionate; and I see that all those who are worth anything are charmed with my manners. . . . I am quite convinced that I please here only because my manners are perfectly natural. I show myself such as you know me to be; it is only in numerous and consequently mixed company, that I drawl my speech and make myself heavy after their fashion."

Like de Warren, who came after him, Jacquemont

considered the English very formal and stiff. Writing a few weeks before his death, he says: "The English at Poona are not amusing; in the north of Hindustan, where every one of them is a kind of pasha, they grow great with their dignity, and *mirabile dictu!* they even become amiable. Here I find them again natural, which is no compliment to them."

Jacquemont is never tired of discoursing upon the luxurious and easy lives which he considered the English in India lived. After he has been a few weeks in the country, he writes: "I observe in the existence of those who are called the most hard-working, leisure and idleness. They call them repose, and assert that such repose is absolutely necessary here. They say they go out, not for the pleasure it gives them, but as they take a medicine in England that does not taste bad. The great object of existence in India is not to amuse oneself but to live; they tell themselves, and some believe it, that they are only following with docility the most suitable medical regime to conserve their health. The English of the middle class, I see it here, are ambitious after physical welfare to an extent unknown in France."

A few weeks later he writes: "In another week I shall begin this journey of six hundred leagues to the north-west. A bamboo cart, drawn by oxen, will carry my baggage; a bullock will be laden with the smallest tent in India. Your humble servant, devoted to white horses, will ride an old steed of that colour, which will cost him only a thousand francs (a good horse costs from three thousand to three thousand five hundred francs), at the head of his six servants, one carrying a

A SUBALTERN ON THE MARCH.

Notice the bullock-cart or hackery conveying the baggage.

gun, another a skin of water, a third the kitchen and pantry, another with the horse's breakfast, etc., without counting the people with the oxen.

"An English captain of infantry would have five-and-twenty instead of six, namely, in addition to those I have—one for his pipe, one for his *chaise-percée*, without which no Englishman in India travels, seven or eight to pitch his tent—which would be very large, very heavy, and very comfortable—three or four cooks, a washerman, and a sweeper, etc., then a constant relay of twelve men to carry his palanquin, in which he may stretch himself when he is tired of riding on horseback."

He thus describes the equipage of a Collector whom he met on tour, accompanied by his wife and child: "He has an elephant, eight carts like mine, two cabriolets, and a particular car for his child, two palanquins, six saddle and carriage horses, independently of at least sixty household servants. He dresses, changes his dress, and dresses again, breakfasts, tiffs, dines, and, in the evening, takes tea exactly as at Calcutta, without abating an atom; glass and china are packed and unpacked from morning to night; glittering plate, clean linen four times a day," etc.

"Simla," he writes, "would be very agreeable and romantic but for the cold and prosaic English, which cause a strange and unexpected contrast between the place and the life led there. No concession is made to the vast distance from the capital, and, when galloping morning and evening in the deserted forests of pines and cedars, the women do not abate one ribbon of their toilette. The same etiquette prevails at the social functions which take the form of dinners. An excursion to

the environs does not occur to anyone. English manners are so firmly moulded, that circumstances best calculated to efface them neither change nor alter them in any way. We hold less to our customs, be they national or individual; we submit with better grace to exigences which command or counsel us to sacrifice them. Neither change of climate nor change of fortune, indeed, nothing will make an Englishman depart from his habits; he will live as he is accustomed to live; ruined, he will rather get deeper into debt than resign himself to being poor and living poorly. This trait of the English national character is doubtless exaggerated in India by the pretensions to fortune, which the poorest European usually makes. Nothing is so common at Calcutta as an appeal to public charity, not for bread, but for a carriage. It is more *comme il faut*, or rather *it is less ungenteel*, to go about in a carriage presented by subscription than to go on foot without having obtained one's boots by begging."

Jacquemont did not like the godliness of the average Englishman in India. "The English," he asserts, "have to be half-intoxicated to throw their bonnets over their fear of the devil. When they are in that condition the most insignificant of anti-religious sorties appear to be the most admirable pleasantries in the world."

Jacquemont had, however, to admit, despite his prejudices, that the English commanded more respect in India than the French. He attributes this to their power, their strength, their morality. They always keep their word; they are always upright, and, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, are just. He is not complimentary to English women. In January, 1831, he writes:

"I long for female society. When I leave the deserts to stop at an English settlement, I meet those of my own sex, sometimes full of merit and learning; but there is absolutely nothing to be said of the European ladies one meets in India: they may be accomplished wives and mothers, but they are nothing else. They read nothing but the *Mirror of Fashion*, a stupid periodical, principally devoted to the toilet, something like the *Journal des Modes*. They have, it is true, all the external qualities required in good society, but nothing more; and their husbands seem to be perfectly satisfied with the small talents they possess."

Shortly before his death, he wrote: "English women are the most extraordinary beings. The most impassioned amongst them, she who would desert husband, children, and character, to run after another man, would, even with that other man, show a reserve perfectly incompatible with our French ideas of intimacy, which to my mind are the sweetest forms of friendship. There is a barrier of ice between an English woman and myself, which the most ardent passion on my part would never succeed in entirely melting. It might make some little holes, but I should never have entire possession. Let it be well understood, that when I say *me*, I mean any man from France and not Victor Jacquemont."

Captain Edouard de Warren has a better title than Jacquemont to express an opinion regarding the English, because he served for about nine years as an officer in a British regiment in India. After he had retired on a small pension he published a book entitled, *L'Inde Anglaise en* 1843, which speedily reached a second edition

and which is at least as worthy of being translated into English as the letters of Jacquemont, but has not been thus honoured, presumably because Jacquemont was the first in the field.

Warren's father was an Irishman, who, in his youth, served in Dillon's Irish Brigade in French Service. In the troublous times of the first revolution he left his adopted country and joined the British Army. As a British Army officer he went to India, served under Wellington against Tipoo Sahib, and subsequently became Director of the Observatory at Madras. He met at Pondicherry and married a French girl. His son, Edouard, was born in Madras in 1811, and was taken to France in 1815 and educated as a Frenchman.

While Edouard was still a boy, his father died. The son, having failed to secure a commission in the French Army, determined to indulge his longing to return to the land where he was born, and where two of his sisters were living. Thinking the best way to accomplish this was through the English, he set out for London with fifteen Napoleons in his pocket. He arrived in England on November 1st. By the first of the following January he had obtained a post of midshipman on the *Aurora*, a merchantman, commanded by a Captain Owen, bound for Madras.

As a midshipman Warren led a dog's life. He writes: "Those who have read the accounts of the midshipmen in the spirited novels of Captain Marryat will gain a very false idea if they imagine that such is the life of the miserable creatures of that name in a merchantman. The species which he describes, the midshipman of the Royal Navy, is a bird of far gayer plumage, leads a

delightful life by comparison with the other. The young hopeful in the King's ship is considered to be and is treated like a gentleman : his counterpart on a merchantman is treated like a galley-slave."

There were five midshipmen on the *Aurora*, who lived and slept in a cabin 6 feet long, 4 broad, and 5 high. "Worse nourished than the sailor (with mouldy cheese and worm-eaten biscuit)," writes Warren, "because less was expected of us, even more despised than he was, because we were less useful and experienced, we were harassed, robbed, tormented on all sides, beaten by every one, and we fought among ourselves."

Warren, being a Frenchman, was bullied by the other midshipmen. After two months of this miserable existence, he contracted brain fever. On his recovery the Captain treated him as a passenger, and showed him the utmost kindness ; but even then Warren was unhappy. Like Jacquemont, he loathed the sea. Said Jacquemont : "I experience only void, nothingness, absence of ideas when confronted with this picture which others contemplate with ecstasy and admiration."

Warren thus delivers himself : "That bell which recalls the cloister or the prison, sounding every hour and calling periodically the crew to the same duties—work, meals, sleep ; that idleness, overwhelming, deadly, but nevertheless inevitable ; for what study is possible amid that incessant movement ; those abominable sounds that pursue you everywhere ; the raucous voices of the officers issuing commands ; the complaints of the passengers ; the cries of the sailors ; the creaking of the planks of the ship's sides ; the wind in the rigging ; the lapping of the water : it is a cacophony, universal, cease-

less, without relaxation or respite. And then there are the appalling odours from which there is no escape, that detestable tar, the emanations from that odious galley; in the midst of these nauseating things it is impossible even to read; the day drags, is wasted in words, one plunges into gluttony as a last resort to shorten that odious existence, lengthening the repasts and brutalizing the digestion."

Warren reached Madras on May 1st, 1831, where he spent a few days with the Arbuthnots, the well-known merchant princes, who had been appointed his guardians under his father's will.

Warren tells us that the house occupied by the Arbuthnot brothers was famous for its beauty: "We entered by a superb double staircase leading from a Greek portico, of which the elegant colonnade was prolonged right round the habitation, forming a veranda. Above this was another lighter veranda which surrounded the upper rooms. I was first taken into a vast octagonal room having eight windows, reaching to the ground and furnished with venetians, through which the delicious sea breeze penetrated. A divan occupied the centre of the room, and, on opposite sides, two sofas. There was not much other furniture: it is the custom of the country to have as little as possible, because it attracts insects, particularly mosquitoes. After being introduced to the people in the drawing-room I obtained permission to retire to my room. It consisted of a sitting-room, bedroom, and bathroom. From the five or six windows there was a beautiful view of the River Adyar and the surrounding country: immediately below was a parterre displaying magnificent roses, geraniums, myrtles, and

plants that perfumed the air. Half the bedroom was occupied by a great square bed, 8 feet long and 3 high. The bedding consisted of a hard mattress on which was spread a mat made of very fine white cane; green gauze curtains protected the sleeper from mosquitoes. A dressing-table with luxuriant fittings, an easy chair, several ordinary ones, and a writing-table completed the furniture."

Warren was much impressed by the scene in the dining-room at dinner time: the brilliant illumination afforded by the branched candelabras ranged along the walls in which were cocoa-nut-oil lamps, the lamps on the table protected by glass shades from the wind made by the punka, the quantity of food on the table, the hot water plates, the array of glass and the army of *khidmutgars*.

"Notwithstanding the heat," he writes, "you will leave the table with your stomach overloaded, seduced from dish to dish by the spices with which each is seasoned. If you are French you are surprised at the enormous quantity of beer and wine absorbed by young English women, so pale and delicate in appearance. . . . My gentle neighbour calmly disposed of one bottle and a half of very strong beer, alternately with a certain amount of Burgundy. She finished up at dessert with five or six glasses of champagne, very light but very strong. The only effect this appeared to have on her was to loosen her tongue and give vivacity to her eyes."

He found that his neighbour was not exceptional, that all women drank freely. He declares that this hard drinking, induced by the climate, soon ruined the health of women in India and compelled them to leave their

husbands and go to England with their children. "But," says he, "the fatal habit has been contracted, the voyage only augments it; as she gets older she often takes to brandy."

At dessert the hookas appeared. "This," writes Warren, "is the only kind of smoking permitted at table; it is no uncommon thing to see a lady take a few puffs from her neighbour's hooka.

"Dinner is followed by an evening without general or even particular conversation—very short, nevertheless too long. After coffee everyone retires at 10 p.m., for the English do not know how to make conversation: they speak only when they have something to say. . . . Conversation is a fruit eminently French. . . . The English do not expand in society: they seem to reserve their minds and their good qualities for their homes. It needs the warmth of their firesides to melt the ice that envelops them in the world. . . . After a long dinner every guest I have met has complained to me of the dullness and frigidness of the previous night, although he himself has contributed to it and will do likewise on the next occasion by this haughtiness and affectation of reserve, which he does not wish to be the first to break through. As to the women with whom you have to dine or converse, there is nothing more stupid or scandalous than the conversation to which you are condemned. It is not that the women are lacking in wit or capacity; indeed, they are generally better educated than ours; it is again that detestable fashion which compels them to look through an odious prism. An English lady is obliged to appear to be offended if you talk to her seriously about politics or literature; but she will wax eloquent

PARENTS VISITING THEIR CHILD IN THE NURSERY.

The picture shows the two attendants which most children used to have—the woman or ayah and the man or bearer.

The illustration is from a picture by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart.

and never stop if it be a question of details of feeding, weaning, or physicing babies, or, better still, if it is tearing to pieces the reputation of her neighbour. The position of the young girl is even more deplorable. She has to choose between two rôles. One is the affectation of an impossible innocence, especially in view of the fact that an unexpurgated Bible is placed in her hands from infancy. The other is that of a coquette and romp. The one class are astonished at everything, and their only reply is, 'Oh! dear me.' The other class throw themselves at men, and show bad taste by talking loudly and laughing noisily. You avoid both: the prudery of the one is insipid and the forwardness of the other makes you fear an entanglement before you have had time to reflect. The career of a young English girl in India is a tragi-comedy. She vegetates in England, without dowry, rich relations or beauty, and consequently without hope of marriage. Fortunately an aunt, a cousin, or a friend of the family is discovered at Madras or Calcutta, who is willing to take charge of her temporarily, and, immediately on leaving school, she sets out, full of health, hope, and gaiety on a voyage of discovery in quest of a husband. He certainly is not difficult to find: she is embarrassed by the choice she has, from old and young, military and civil, nobles and commoners, from an old general with his bilious attacks, his parchment face which has not perspired for the last ten years because the sun has sucked all the moisture out of him, down to the young ensign with rosy cheeks, who, while he devours her with his eyes, wipes the drops of sweat from his brow. In the first fortnight of her existence in India she is overwhelmed with offers of marriage. The poor young

girl is so overcome by the flatteries poured into her ear, that her head, which was never too strong, is completely turned. She begins to think that she really possesses all the perfections attributed to her. . . . Her aunt tells her, day and night, that she should not lower herself by dancing with anyone below a very senior civilian or a military officer holding a staff appointment and in a position to give her the three things considered in India to be the first essentials of conjugal felicity: a massive silver teapot, a palanquin and set of bearers to use by day, and a carriage in which to drive in the evening.

"She is thus impelled by an outrageous ambition to refuse in the course of a few months some really eligible wooers of whom she would not have dreamt in England, while she dances till she is out of breath and her hair gets dishevelled in order to draw into her curls some old nabob with spindle legs, in whose mummy there is not a spark of heat, whose soul for the past twenty years has been concentrated on rupees. The guerilla warfare which she wages against this dried-up heart, sometimes against two or three simultaneously, may last twelve or eighteen months. Then one of two things happens: either she succeeds in capturing him and marries him . . . to repent afterwards, and ends by running away with another man, and getting divorced; or she sees that the old stockfish is playing with the bait, without biting up to the hook; meanwhile, the charming Matilda grows daily more yellow, more bilious, more concerned; she feels from time to time little twinges at the side, indicating that the liver is attacked, and her friends, who begin to be concerned about her health, recommend an immediate change in the interior, at Hyderabad for

example, a change of which the real object is to try a new venue where she may find an acquisition. . . . But good catches are rare in the mofussil; all the higher officers there are generally married, so that the girl has to fall back on some captain; but captains are not always available. She perceives that she has lost her freshness . . . she will probably finish, in a moment of desperation, by accepting some poor subaltern, unfortunate in his promotion, a lieutenant, perhaps of twenty years standing, crippled with debts and in bad health, who, having no hope of ever seeing his country, wishes for a few moments of happiness, and thinks he can get them by taking a wife; but he merely adds to his burden and both make a bad speculation."

The above, although very severe criticism, is by no means devoid of truth. Warren exaggerates grossly when he declares that most women in India became drunkards, and it is absolutely false to assert that a large proportion of the marriages in India between old men and young girls ended in the divorce court. Even de Grandpré has to admit that most of such unions turned t
ut surprisingly well. There were fewer scandals in th
glish society in India than in the society of any other Alex
ıtry, England not excepted. His other strictures regin
nglo-Indian society are not so severe as those of ated
. Maitland, who is the writer of that clever book, an
ters from Madras. tha

Warren cannot be called a hostile witness. As we shall see, he held a very high opinion of the officers of his British regiment. Of Anglo-Indian society in general he writes: "It is so different from English society, for it is a singular phenomenon, but it is true of every

individual of the British race, that he has to suffer displacement, the friction of travel or the military community, before the diamond, so often hidden in a rough envelopment, shows itself. The English are nowhere less amiable than in England; it is under the military uniform or under a tropical sun that their best qualities show to greatest advantage."

Having remained a few days at Madras, Warren set out in a palanquin to join his married sister at Pondicherry. He calls the palanquin the most voluptuous of all carriages. "It would be difficult to imagine," he writes, "unless you have travelled in India, all the resources, all the comfort, which invention and experience combined have contrived to attach to this little house. It is to the Indian what the shell is to the snail; he has materialized the phrase of the philosopher, *omnia mecum porto;* but it is not he who carries it."

After a short sojourn at Pondicherry, Warren returned to Madras to look out for some appointment. While he was there he learned that a second-lieutenantship had just fallen vacant in H.M.'s 55th Regiment of Foot. He induced the Colonel to forward his memorial for the vacancy, and wrote direct to the Duke of Wellington, under whom his father had served in India.

While awaiting the result of his application, he stayed at Bolarum with his brother-in-law, a cavalry officer in the service of the Nizam.

In April, 1832, Warren learned that his application had been granted, and that he was permitted to purchase, for the sum of eleven thousand francs, a post of second-lieutenant in the 55th Regiment. As there were some five thousand applicants for the post he considered

himself extremely lucky. He lost no time in joining his regiment, which was then stationed at Bellary, at which cantonment he arrived in September, 1832.

He thus describes his Colonel. "Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Mill was about fifty years of age; his pale bronzed complexion indicated long service in unhealthy tropical climates. He was a veteran of the army of Spain, whose whole life had been spent in the field, and who felt uncomfortable in a drawing-room. His penetrating eyes were filled with intelligence, but a rather awkward nervousness caused him often to lower them. He spoke with some hesitation, but his phraseology was chosen and elegant. A Scot, with the excessive patriotism of his race, he had learned on twenty battle-fields to respect the French without having been able to learn to love them. He had been tossed about too much from hemisphere to hemisphere to find leisure to marry, and he lavished the superabundance of his affection on a young fellow-countryman, a distant relative, for whom he had long been trying to secure the post of second-lieutenant that had been given to me, and who had been serving for the past two years at his own expense. This young man, Alexander Campbell, was a favourite with the whole regiment; everyone felt certain that he would be nominated, and the general disappointment was followed by an outburst of indignation when it came to be known that his successful rival was a foreigner. It was thus in doubly unfortunate circumstances that I presented myself before my chief. Nevertheless he received me with the most exquisite politeness. There was no air of authority in his manner of addressing me, nothing that savoured of the commanding officer. He welcomed me

to the regiment, hoped my journey had been pleasant, and let fall a few words about the course of instruction and the military tests I should have to pass, and finally spoke jocularly of the strictness of the discipline of the 55th, and the importance of my meriting the approbation of the adjutant who would look after my studies and watch my progress."

It is scarcely necessary to state that Warren was somewhat coldly received by his comrades. He saw that it would take some time to win their affection and esteem, so, like a sensible man, he determined to make the best of things and possess his soul in patience. Shortly after he joined the regiment the post of Hindustani interpreter fell vacant. Although the regiment had been three years in India, not one of the officers knew any Hindustani. Warren, having plenty of leisure, decided to try to qualify for the post.

"I resolved," he writes, "to fight sadness and loneliness by study, and I succeeded. Thirteen months passed rapidly in hard work. While waiting for the friendship of my brothers in arms I wished to compel their esteem. A brilliant examination was the result of my efforts." The post of interpreter was offered him. This, he says, brought him in an income of three thousand francs, and enabled him to live up to the standard of the regiment.

Warren was a warm admirer of the British Army. He says that its drill was far superior to that of the French, and he was loud in his praise of the institution of an officers' mess. "Thus constituted with such wise rules, every corps of officers forms a society of the *élite*, a school of manners and talents, a hot-house for the cultivation of strong friendships, capable of resisting the assaults

and storms of the world. It is a system simple in its action and admirable in its results. I can find nothing to which I can compare it."

Some months after Warren had joined the regiment cholera broke out. Among others Campbell and Warren were attacked. Warren recovered, but Campbell died on the very day news was received of his appointment to the regiment. Cholera and leave reduced the officers to twenty, and this brought those that remained closer together. At the end of eighteen months, Warren was able to say that he had among the officers several sincere friends and not a single enemy. For some of them he had the most profound admiration.

"Poor Heriot," he writes, "the most handsome, most brave, most generous of men. Never will the brilliant uniform of England envelop more graceful limbs; never were there more gentle eyes, a forehead more noble or calm. He recalls vividly to me this beautiful line:

'L'Homme est un Dieu tombé, qui se souvient des cieux.'

Never did a young heart beat at the beginning of life with more courage, ambition, and honour." When about to get his company, his father was ruined, and Heriot had to give up all hope of rapid advancement.

Warren calls Henry Bayly "my companion, my friend, my brother."

"I found," he writes, "in these two men a type essentially English, and at the same time a degree of perfection to which it is perhpas not given to a Frenchman to attain. You can see that I was not inclined to regard with too indulgent eye the defects of English society, that I think it will not compare for an instant

with ours as regards endearing qualities : urbanity, kindness, simplicity, all the little touches that make for happiness in life, such as graciousness, good nature, charm of manner ; but, even as you find diamonds, not in gold and silver mines, but hidden in coarse sand, so is the most perfect type of man found in the rough elements that compose our neighbours ; the perfect English gentleman is the phœnix of the human species. To be like him a Frenchman needs only a more elevated and intimate notion of his personal dignity, a more reverent respect for the portion of divinity which the Almighty has vouchsafed to man. There are few among us, nay, I must say there is not one among us, who is a hero to his valet or intimate friend. No matter how good a Frenchman be in society, before strangers or before ladies, his good nature causes him to relax as soon as he is alone with his bosom friend, his fellow-student or the confidante or messenger of his first follies.

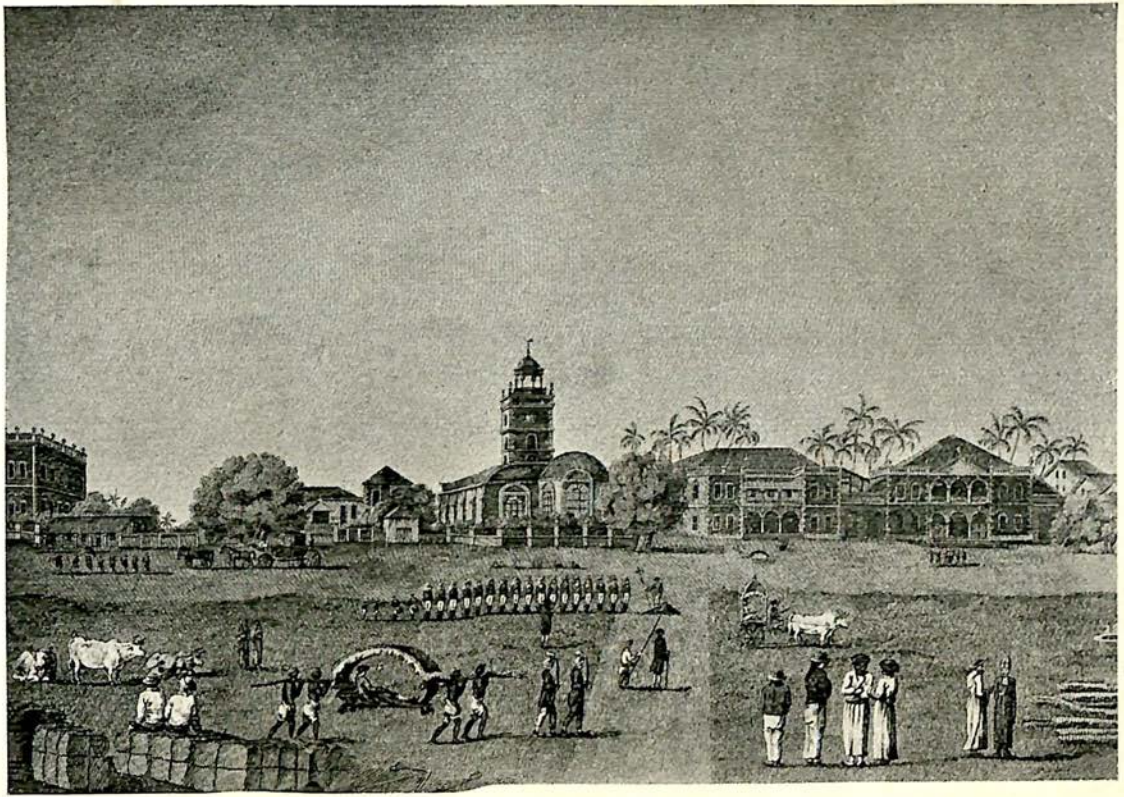
It is, you will say, the excess of two good qualities : of our freedom from affectation and of the characteristic gaiety of our temperament ; but we have generally the defects of these qualities, the inclination to let ourselves go, to become foul-mouthed, to exaggerate or act the clown—behaviour one is astonished to discover at all times in the most grave and level-headed men. The perfect English gentleman never demeans himself or does anything derogatory ; he displays his rectitude and self-respect in all the little details of his life. The inner man will never betray him, because it is of the same calibre as the outer man ; he could live in a glass house, all his actions will bear the light and defy criticism.

But the individual I have just described is not a

A PICTURE OF BOMBAY AS IT WAS ABOUT 1790.

(By William Daniell.)

This picture appeared as an illustration in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs.*



purely indigenous product: it is necessary that he should undergo several transplantations and breathe the air of the Continent, particularly that of France, in order to reach perfect maturity and to free himself from certain qualities inherent in the natal soil. But when education, circumstances, and travel favour his development, it is of him, above all, that you can say he is the lord of creation."

Considerations of space prevent our quoting further from de Warren. It must suffice that his book gives one of the best accounts extant of life in South India eighty or ninety years ago, particularly of life in a British regiment in India. Warren took part in the brief campaign against the Raja of Coorg, and his book contains a graphic description of this.

The writing of Monsieur V. Fontanier falls rather flat after that of Warren. Fontanier published, in 1844, a book entitled, *Voyage dans L'Inde et dans le Golfe Persique par L'Egypte et La Mer Rouge.* On the title page he describes himself as former scholar of the Normal School and Vice-Consul of France at Basra. He was in Bombay for a few months in 1835, and for about five years from 1836.

On the whole, he is a friendly critic of everything British except statesmanship; but then, like most of his fellow-countrymen, he was very disgusted at the way in which the British had ousted the French from India! It was most galling to him to watch the British consolidating their power in a land which he believed France might have held had she managed her affairs properly.

Fontanier tells us that he suffered on account of Jacquemont's letters, which had recently been published and had naturally roused some indignation in India.

Fontanier considers that Jacquemont was justified in expressing himself as freely as he did, because the English people did not hesitate to ridicule the French!

Fontanier is distinctly amusing on the subject of the officers of the British Army: "The officers appear to me in their relations to one another, to be far more concerned with their social rank of gentleman than their military grade. . . . As soon as he enters a regiment, an English officer has to follow two professions: the one, the more important, that of a gentleman; the other, that of a soldier. The first is as difficult as the second. It is a serious business, the study of the thousand and one forms by which the regular gentleman shows himself; he exhibits this by the way in which he cuts up his meat, invites another to take wine, helps himself to salt. It is necessary for him to know to salute those whom he meets, and when to turn away his head. Then, it is no small thing to know how to appear in public, how in church, what functions he should honour with his presence; the way to word a letter, fold it, seal it, despatch it, are the object of grave deliberations."

As regards the Company's army, Fontanier considered that its officers were inferior to those of the French army, and probably would not compare favourably with those of Prussia, Austria, or Russia. The sepoy he regarded as a pure mercenary, who would transfer his allegiance to any master who would promise a single rupee more and was in a position to make good the promise.

Fontanier is decidedly complimentary to English society in Bombay; far more so than most contemporary English writers, who have little that is good to say of it. Fontanier speaks of the "most noble and free

hospitality" of the English in Bombay. "Not only," writes he, "does society in India not seem to be inferior to that of Europe, but I would go further and grant it an uncontestable superiority. There is not a single man in it who would not be remarked in Paris or London circles, either for knowledge acquired in the course of travel or for the ease with which he speaks foreign languages. No woman can go there who has not received an education as good as that of ladies in Europe, and who has not wider views than those who have never left their country. . . . The regularity of existence allows more time for study; libraries are numerous, and every important book that appears on the Continent is to be found in India a month later. When you read a Calcutta, a Madras, or particularly a Bombay publication you feel sad. It is impossible to fail to remark the talent, the science, and the purposefulness of the editor; then you involuntarily contrast them with the balderdash, the useless verbiage, and the profound ignorance that characterizes European newspapers."

Fontanier, although he disliked the policy of the British Government in India, had nothing but praise for the simplicity of that Government, and its accessibility and the despatch with which it conducted business.

XIX

A CALCUTTA DINNER PARTY EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ABOUT six o'clock the abdars of the guests begin to arrive, each carrying a bottle of water and the cooling apparatus. They congregate under a large tree near the dining-room, where they set to work. Two-and-twenty people have been invited: civil servants, military men, and lawyers. A few minutes before 7 p.m., the appointed time, the first guest arrives—a captain of one of the King's regiments in uniform. He is received in the porch by the host, who is a civilian and dressed in white. Then comes a swan-necked postchaise containing a barrister, who practises in the Supreme Court, and his wife. After the first greetings have been exchanged, the host remarks that it is a hot evening and invites his legal guest to exchange his black broadcloth coat for a white one. Whereupon the guest calls for his bearer who has accompanied him, and this servant runs up, carrying a white jacket, which his master substitutes for the black coat. The other guests appear in rapid succession.

The last arrival is a judge of the Sudder Adawlut—an old "qui hai" who has put in over thirty-five years in India, and who mistrusts the new-fangled horse-drawn carriage as a mode of conveyance. He comes in his *bochah*

palanquin. This is not unlike a sedan chair in shape. It has a door on each side, a large glass window in front, and a small one behind. It is upholstered with red morocco leather. The great man is accompanied by a whole posse of servants. In addition to the four palanquin-bearers there are three *massalchis*, or torch-bearers, each holding aloft branch-lights. These consist of a stick, at the end of which is a semi-circular frame of iron. From this project seven spikes, on each of which a small *massal*, or torch, is stuck. The *massal* consists of rags, wrapped very closely round a stout stick about 2 feet long and kept in position by an iron ring. On to the flaming rags the *massalchi*, every few minutes, pours a few drops of sesamum oil from a small brass vessel. The remainder of the posse is made up of four *harkarrahs*, or peons, who head the procession; behind these come a couple of *suntabardars*, or gold-baton bearers, then a pair of *chobdars*, or silver mace bearers, and, finally, trotting alongside the palanquin, the *jammadar*. The worthy judge inside the palanquin does not appear to mind the dust raised by his fore-runners, the oily smoke from the flambeaux or the grunts of the bearers; indeed, the higher the rank of their master the louder are they supposed to grunt!

Having exchanged greetings with his host and his black coat for a white jacket, he enters the drawing-room, which is brilliantly lighted by chandeliers and by wax candles in glass shades, attached to the walls all round the room.

Some of the guests are talking languidly in small groups, the topics of conversation being official matters, horse-racing or news from up-country. A few of the more

energetic guests are walking up and down the broad veranda.

Having received the last of his guests, the host takes up a position near the senior lady, the *burra beebee*, as she is called, and talks to her. After a few minutes, the *khansamaji*, or chief butler, a very important and respectable personage, with an aldermanic expansion of the abdominal region, a huge black beard, and a napkin hanging from his *kammarband* (belt), with hands respectfully closed, head on one side, and an air most profoundly deferential, announces that dinner is served.

The host then presents his arm to the senior lady guest, and leads her to the dining-room. The judge of the Sudder Adawlut, being the male guest of highest rank, takes in the hostess. The other guests go in to dinner in such order as pleases them; each man offers an arm to the lady to whom he happens to be talking when dinner is announced. As the men largely exceed the ladies in numbers, most of the latter are expected to take the arms of *two* men. The atmosphere in the dining-room is suffocating. All round the walls are cocoa-nut-oil lamps protected by glass shades. On the table there is also much illumination. The table is loaded with hot dishes. At each place is a hot-water plate surmounted by a plate of steaming soup. Standing behind the chairs are not less than four-and-twenty *khidmutgars*, each guest having brought with him at least one table servant. The chairs at the table are placed so close together as to leave the sitters scarcely sufficient room to wield the knife and fork! By each cover is a napkin, a tumbler, a long glass for claret, a small one for Madeira, and a glass jug for water. Every receptacle has a cover made of turned

wood and fitted with a silver knob, to prevent some of the numerous insects, attracted by the many lights, from falling into the glasses.

Conversation during dinner is very languid. This is not an unusual feature. In those days, dinner parties in India were the dullest things imaginable. Many causes contributed to this dullness. The topics of conversation were very limited—"shop," scandal, and sport almost exhausted the list. News from England took so long in arriving that, by the time it reached India, it had lost all its freshness. The servants of the Company left England when they were mere boys, at a time when their education was barely beginning; they came out knowing little or nothing of literature, science, art, or politics. They did very little reading in India. None of them were men of leisure, each had his allotted duty to perform. The women who came out also left home at an early age, and most of them received only the minimum of education considered necessary for a girl in those days. The climate was not such as to stimulate the brain to activity; men and women, therefore, became languid and averse to mental exercise. They lived as exiles far away from the centres of art and learning.

The stifling atmosphere and the noise and clatter made by the host of servants are not conducive to conversation. Both hosts and guests are bored and wish that the function were over.

In due course the soup plates are removed and other plates take their place. Then the metal covers are lifted from the dishes in the middle of the table. What a sight presents itself to the eyes of the diners: a holocaust of sheep, oxen, turkeys, ducks, and fowls, to say nothing of

the inevitable sucking pig with a lemon in its mouth! No fancy dishes, no delicacies, nothing light. On solid, heavy silver dishes, as massive as their contents, are pure, naked, unadorned sheep, solid, unmistakable bull, whole turkeys. The sight of these is sufficient to chase away the appetite of the most stalwart knight of the table, and, as if to add to the horror of the repast, the guests have to do all the carving! Not one-hundredth part of the slaughtered hecatombs are eaten. A few of the guests struggle manfully with the food placed before them; some, regardless of the pearls of perspiration that adorn their foreheads, make a show of eating; others acknowledge defeat and lean back languidly in their chairs.

Everyone, however, enjoys the drinks, of which the profusion equals that of the eatables. Champagne, claret, Madeira, port, and even beer are consumed. Each person is challenged to drink by every other. After a time, the products of the farm are removed, to be replaced by dishes of curry and rice. Few of the guests attempt an onslaught on this time-honoured dish, but those who do make up for the deficiency of the others and consume with great gusto a plateful along with untold quantities of chutney, Lucknow pickles, or Tapp sauce.

Notwithstanding the hanging punka and the hand fans plied with diligence by kittysol-boys standing round the room, the atmosphere becomes less bearable every minute; but the heroes and heroines brave it out and toy with the sweets, savouries, cheeses, and fruits which now appear. While these are being discussed the servants of the hooka-smokers bring in mats, then hookas, and, lastly, balls of fire. Then bubbling sounds mingle with the conversation, and the highly-scented smoke further

warms and thickens the atmosphere. Still the ladies endure the torment. It is not until they have taken wine with the men that the hostess rises and the ladies withdraw to the drawing-room, there to sip tea or coffee and indulge in languid conversation. The men, left to themselves, drink each one or two glasses of wine and talk "shop," like conversing with like, soldier with soldier, civilian with civilian.

Presently the men join the ladies. In the drawing-room conversation flags; most of the guests are half asleep, and many a yawn is with difficulty stifled. After the space of fifteen minutes the senior lady rises and takes leave. The rest follow with what seems almost indecent alacrity, and in five minutes the guests have all departed, and the host and hostess thank the Almighty that the entertainment is over.

XX

NAINI TAL IN THE DAYS OF THE COMPANY

NAINI TAL, although so close to the plains and to Almora, which has been in British occupation from 1815 onwards, did not become a hill station till the 'forties. This is generally accounted for on the supposition that until Mr. Barron visited the lake in 1841 no Englishman had set eyes on it. It is doubtful whether this supposition is correct.

Traill, Commissioner of Kumaun, wrote in his *Statistical Sketch of Kumaun*, published in 1823, "a few lakes are found in various parts: the most remarkable of which are Naini Tal, Bhim Tal, and Naukachia Tal, situated in the Chakrata district near the Bhamouri Pass. The first, which is the largest, measures one mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth." In view of this statement, the length of time that Traill served in Kumaun and his intimate relations with the hill-men, it is almost certain that he was well acquainted with Naini Tal. The question then arises, why did not Traill recommend it as a hill sanitarium? According to Barron, Traill did his best to conceal its existence from all Europeans, knowing well that, once seen, it could not fail to be selected as a site for a hill station. "Anyone," writes Barron, "conversant with his (Traill's) system of

administration in Kumaun will understand me at once, and feel convinced how easy it was for him to successfully conceal it from the knowledge of Europeans; and it must be remembered that his orders to the natives with this view were peculiarly agreeable to their own wishes. I have heard anecdotes of Mr. T.'s jealousy of European travellers, which exceeded even that of the Chinese. The late Mr. Shore acted, when in the Dhoon, on the same principle, and was accustomed to call the influx of European visitors to Mussoorie and Landour, 'a public calamity,' 'a Pindaree invasion,' etc."

It is quite possible to appreciate Traill's point of view. Had Naini Tal become an European settlement in his time, his work would have been enormously increased; he would have had endless worry and trouble in settling disputes between the visitors and the indigenous folk, in procuring coolies, labourers, and supplies, and such matters.

That no non-official European came upon Naini Tal before Barron is easily explained. There were two routes to Almora from the plains. The oldest of these ran from Bareilly through Haldwani, Bhamauri, and Bhim Tal. This was very unhealthy in the region of the tarai, and had the disadvantage of passing through the Jagir of Rampur. Moreover, it was so intersected by unbridged watercourses as to be practicable for troops during only four months in the year. The second route was from Moradabad through Kashipur, Chilkia, Polgarh, and Kotha. Along this a military road was constructed, which was bridged.

Thus Naini Tal was hidden in the hills to the left of one route and to the right of the other. Those travelling

along these routes were too eager to reach their destination to think of remaining by the way to explore the hills. Officers stationed at Almora and Hawalbagh would naturally go into the interior in the course of their shooting expeditions. Thus, it was left to Mr. P. Barron, a merchant residing at Shahjahanpur, to make Naini Tal known to the public. Barron devoted all the time he could spare to exploring the Himalayas. His *Notes of Wanderings in the Himalaya* is well worth reading; unfortunately the book is difficult to procure. In it he tells us that in 1841 he happened to be in the vicinity of Naini Tal, and noticed that the configuration of the mountains was such that they must enclose a lake. He accordingly told the guide to take him to the lake. The man was obviously reluctant and took the party up a considerable ascent in the wrong direction. Whereupon Barron resorted to what he describes as "something like gentle violence." "If," he writes, "you ever go to Naini Tal with a guide who professes never to have seen the place, the following is the recipe for making him find it out. Put a big stone on his head and tell him he has to carry it to Naini Tal, where there are no stones, and to be careful not to let it fall and break, because you require it there, and, with a view of getting relieved of his load, he will soon admit that there is no scarcity of stones at the spot, a fact which he could not have known without being an eye-witness of it. We relieved the gentleman of his burden after a mile's walk and heard no more of his ignorance of the road."

Barron was charmed with Naini Tal. It is, he says, "by far the most beautiful sight I have witnessed in the course of a fifteen-hundred miles walk in the Himalayas."

After his return to Shahjahanpur in February, 1842, Barron wrote to the Assistant-Commissioner of Kamaun, asking for "a grant of land for the site of a house, garden, and out-offices in the vicinity of the lake called Naini Tal on the Gager range of mountains."

Mr. Batten, the Senior Assistant Commissioner, in a letter forwarding Mr. Barron's application to Mr. Lushington, the Commissioner of Kumaun, gave a long description of Naini Tal, and drew a rough sketch map, which still exists. "The scenery of the lake in question," he wrote, "is very beautiful, and the climate is that of similar Alpine situations *with northern aspects* in these mountains. . . . Between the western and north-eastern peaks and the lake lies a space of about 3½ miles in circuit, but at no spot more than one mile distant from the lake, distributed into small undulating ridges, long slopes and lawns, interspersed with oak forest and occasional solitary cypress trees, and at the lower point, near the margin of the lake forming a flat plain on which the annual fair is held. . . . On the lawns and slopes there are numerous good sites, but the plain is (I think) too low and liable to inundation, and might be found at times warm, if not insalubrious.

"As Mr. Barron," concludes Mr. Batten, "does not seem to wish for any improper monopoly, and as he is the first applicant, I think he should be permitted to select any good site, exclusive of the fair ground, and I anticipate great advantages from the location at Naini Tal of so enterprising a capitalist. . . . If his application be granted I would propose that early steps be taken for surveying the whole vicinity of the lake."

The Sudder Board of Revenue, in forwarding to

Government Mr. Barron's application, wrote: "It appears from the report of the district officer that the land immediately round the lake Nynee Tal is unoccupied and waste, and entirely at the disposal of Government for any purpose to which they may be pleased to assign it. It also appears . . . that the people in the vicinage of the lake, so far from having any objection to the appropriation of the lands bordering on it to building purposes, are sensible of the many advantages which would result to them when once the lake becomes a place of general resort. . . . The Board would propose that the land applied for may be granted on the terms of building leases, at a fixed rate to be paid by the occupant so long as the land is used for the purpose for which it is now required. The Board concur in thinking the Kusowlee rates for building leases higher than is necessary, and would consider a rent rate of 2 annas per beegah of the Rohilcund local measurement, giving about 6 kucha beegahs to the acre, as fair and sufficient."

The local Government approved of these proposals, and ordered that "care should be taken to avoid the error of granting too large holdings, and that convenient spots should be set apart for public purposes, such as fairs, markets, bazaars, etc., and also for public buildings, as a church, etc."

In January, 1843, Barron was informed that his request had been granted, and that the Government was prepared to make further grants of small plots at a rent of 12 annas an acre. Meanwhile Barron had again visited Naini Tal and proceeded to advertise its beauties in a series of articles contributed to the *Agra Ukhbar*.

"The lake," he wrote, "is slightly curved in shape,

about 1¼ to 1½ miles in length, and its greatest breadth, I should say, about three-quarters of a mile. . . . The water is as clear as crystal; a beautiful little stream supplied from the springs of the overtopping mountains, is continually running into it, and a smaller one flowing out of it at the opposite extremity. . . . An undulating lawn, with a great deal of level ground, interspersed with occasional clumps of oak, cypress (not willow), and other beautiful trees, continues from the margin of the lake, for upwards of a mile, up to the base of a magnificent mountain standing at the further extreme of this vast amphitheatre; and the sides of the lake are also bounded by splendid hills and peaks, which are thickly wooded down to the water's edge. . . . On the undulating ground, between the highest peak and the margin of the lake, there are capabilities of a race-course, cricket ground, etc., and building sites in every direction sufficient for a large town. Beautiful roads, for riding and driving, might easily be constructed for the entire circumference of the lake, and thousands of pleasure boats might be kept constantly skimming on its surface. It is only one good long day's journey from the plains."

This description aroused jealousy in the hearts of some of the inhabitants of Mussoorie, who appeared to think that there was not room for two hill stations in the province of Agra, and that if Naini Tal became popular, Mussoorie would suffer, hence one of the Mussoorieites, under the *nom de plume* of Bagman, contributed an article to a little paper called *The Hills*, in which he charged "Pilgrim," the name under which Barron wrote, of gross exaggeration and inaccuracies. Bagman asserted that Pilgrim had magnified the size of

the lake seven diameters, declared that there was no outlet to the lake, so that the margin would not be a healthy site for residences, and that to reach Naini Tal the traveller had to cross the deadly Terai, through which nothing living could pass with safety, and that even if people did succeed in getting through this unscathed, their troubles were not over, as the road from Bhim Tal to Naini Tal was in many places dangerous to the pedestrian. Bagman concluded with the remark that the assertions of Pilgrim were made in his capacity of the mouthpiece of a clique of the residents of Almora, who had acquired an interest in the land surrounding the lake at Naini Tal.

Pilgrim met these charges by writing to ten people who he knew had visited the place, and publishing their replies. These people fully concurred in all that Pilgrim had said about the locality. This silenced the anti-Naini-Talites.

By the middle of 1843 nine applications for grants of land had been received by the Government. Among the applicants were Mr. Lushington, Commissioner of Kumaun; Lieutenant Weller, Executive Engineer of Kumaun; Mr. Stowell, of Almora; and Messrs. Maclean and Saunders, of Shahjahanpur.

The first two houses completed were those of Barron and Lushington; the former was called Pilgrim Lodge. It used to cost from 1600 to 1900 rupees to build a house at Naini Tal. The earliest to be constructed had flat roofs made of clay; these proved unsatisfactory. As the result of experience, Barron stated that all roofs should either be made double or slated at once, and have a proper slope. He said that zinc sheets made the best

of all roofings, but they required good workmanship, and people generally made the mistake of nailing them to the planks.

Lushington lost no time in making arrangements for a bazaar, and *paharis* (hill-men) flocked to him to obtain leases for land on which to build their shops.

When he went to Naini Tal in the summer of 1843, Barron took a boat with him. This was the first to be launched on the lake. He succeeded in enticing on board Nur Singh, a *thokdar*, who claimed to be proprietor of the lake and the surrounding mountains. He had lost his case in the Commissioner's Court, and an appeal was pending before the Board of Revenue. While they were on the lake Barron offered Nur Singh the alternative of resigning his pretentions to the lake or being upset in it ! He chose the former alternative, and Barron made him write out in pencil a deed by which he resigned all claim to the lake. This document was shown to the assembled crowd when the boat returned to the shore, and Nur Singh, who thought that Barron was in earnest, became the laughing-stock of all his neighbours. Having failed in his appeal, Nur Singh applied to be made *patwari* (village accountant) of Naini Tal on Rs.5 *per mensem*.

Barron spent Christmas Day, 1843, at Naini Tal. The house party at Pilgrim Lodge consisted of three women and six men. At that time only four of the rooms had a roof on them. In the morning a bear was shot on Ayapatha. After dinner fireworks were let off and sweetmeats distributed to the *paharis*.

At the end of 1843 seven houses were either finished or under construction.

Despite the rough-and-ready nature of the roads leading

to it, the growth of Naini Tal was wonderfully rapid. By the autumn of 1845 there were sixteen completed houses and fourteen under construction. On the 10th August, 1847, the Commissioner reported to Government that forty houses had been built at Naini Tal, that two were in course of construction, that sixty-one visitors were spending the season there, and that twenty-six casual visitors had come to the place between March and August.

In 1851 he reported that "the European adult population has generally exceeded 150 souls . . . the bazaar 'too is thickly crowded." On the 8th May, 1845, a meeting of the householders of the settlement passed the following resolution: "It is agreed that application be made to Government that the provisions of Regulation X of 1842 (providing for the formation of local Municipal Committees) be enforced and made law at Naini Tal, as more than two-thirds of the inhabitants being present require it." The Lieutenant-Governor of the N.W.P., by a Notification, dated the 7th June, 1845, declared that the provisions of Regulation X were from that date to be enforced at the settlement. He constituted the following as a Committee for the year 1845-6: Major-General Sir W. Richards, K.C.B.; G. T. Lushington, Esq., C.S.; Major H. H. Arnand; P. Barron, Esq. On the same date a number of rules to be observed in the Settlement were notified. Of these the following were the most important:

1. Grants of land will be allotted to individuals on the following terms, viz. a ground rent of 2 rupees per acre (horizontal measurement).

2. The maximum extent of a site will be seven acres, or as near that extent as the natural features of the

country and the convenience of the boundary may admit.

3. All ground rents, fines, or forfeitures, and all collections on account of abkari (excise) within the limits of the settlement shall be appropriated to purposes connected with the public health and convenience of the residents in the settlement.

In 1845, the residents applied to Government for the services of a medical officer. The Lieutenant-Governor wrote to the Adjutant-General of the Army, asking that this request be granted, but the Governor-General in Council, to whom the matter was referred, regretted that the requisition could not be complied with, "owing to the demands of the service and to the circumstance that there are no servants of the State located at the settlement on duty." Whereupon the Municipal Committee memorialized the Lieutenant-Governor for the services of a Sub-Assistant-Surgeon educated at the Medical College at Calcutta. This prayer was granted. The following year General Richards, the Chairman of the Municipal Committee, wrote that the work was too much for one native doctor, and asked for a dresser on Rs.6 a month to assist that officer. This was sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor, subject to the confirmation of the Supreme Government. The latter said that the expense of the dresser must be borne by the local community. It is thus evident that in those days the Government in this country was highly centralized. The following year the Supreme Government was induced to sanction the appointment of an Assistant-Surgeon at Naini Tal to be exchanged every two years. In 1846 the church at

Naini Tal was built. This is dedicated to St. John-in-the Wilderness. It was designed by the Executive Engineer of Kumaun. It is said to have cost Rs.15,000, and this sum was raised entirely by private subscription and pew rents. It was not until 1857 that Government took over the church.

The settlement did not flourish under the Committee appointed under Regulation X of 1842, accordingly in 1850 that body passed a resolution asking for the suspension of the Act, the abolition of itself, and the handing over of its duties to the Commissioner of Kumaun. The Commissioner, however, pointed out that the failure of the Committee was largely due to financial difficulties. Government accordingly suggested that a Board might be constituted under the new Municipal Act, which empowered local bodies to impose town duties. The suggestion was communicated to the residents, with the result that twenty-one out of the thirty-four householders and landed proprietors applied that the station be placed under the new Act.

In forwarding this application to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Commissioner wrote: "As the *ex officio* appointment of the magistrate to be Chief Commissioner for carrying into effect the object of the Act removes all the objections which in my opinion and that of the public applied generally to the Committee elected under Regulation X of 1842, by the substitution of one certain and responsible and active manager at least in room of a Board of Administration, which, for the most part, contented itself with *passing* resolutions, I have no hesitation in recommending that the prayer of the applicants be granted. . . . I venture to suggest that the number

of Commissioners who may be appointed associates with the Magistrate . . . be confined to two, including the Assistant-Surgeon for the time being in charge of the sanitarium, and that the possession by an individual of extensive property at the lake be, as a general rule, considered a disqualification for the office of Local Commissioner. The history of the late elected Committees since 1845 would prove that much valuable time had been wasted, much ill-feeling created, and many important objects beneficial to the community been neglected, owing to the presence in these bodies of large proprietors, whose individual interests have not only opposed each other, but also, especially when triumphing one over the other in the Committee, the interests of the community at large, among whom I reckon visitors equally with proprietors. I may mention as instances of omission fairly, in my judgment, chargeable against the composition of the late Committees, the entire neglect by the municipal management of the approach to Naini Tal from Bareilly as compared to the attention bestowed on the Moradabad approach, the narrow unadvanced state of the Public Mall at the lower end of the Lake, the absence of any good public road running on a level along the face of the Cheena and Sherkadanda ridges, the total inattention paid to the European and native bathing places and to the several springs of water, and, last but not least, the neglect of even the slightest endeavours during the five years since which Naini Tal has become a place of resort to remove the danger, nuisance, and disfigurement of the scenery caused by the weeds at the margin of the lake. Every impartial observer would, I believe, readily allow that if the purse of Naini Tal had during the same

period of time been in the hands of the district authorities, assisted by proprietors whose private interests in the place hardly exceeded those of a visitor or occasional resident, these omissions so injurious to the public welfare and convenience would not have formed, as they now do, the subject of universal censure."

The provisions of Act XXVI of 1850 were accordingly introduced into the settlement, and the Commissioners nominated for the year 1851–2 were General Sir W. Richards, K.C.B., Chairman; Captain H. Ramsay (the famous Sir Henry Ramsay, the "King of Kumaun"), Senior Assistant Commissioner, official member; J. C. Wilson, Esq., C.S.; Major Tucker, C.B., 9th Light Cavalry; Captain W. Jones, Engineers.

In the early days the usual approach to Naini Tal from the plains was via Kaladunghi, and the making of the road from that place to the settlement cost the local community a large sum. The road was largely used by troops going to and from Almora, nevertheless Government declined to contribute to its construction; but, after its completion, a grant of Rs.207 per annum for its upkeep was made. The attitude of Government towards the settlement underwent a complete change when it became their summer headquarters. This happened in 1854, when the Lieutenant-Governor, his chief, and his private secretary, came up and stayed from the middle of April until November. At that time there was no treasury at Naini Tal, so that all the money required by His Honour and suite had to be brought in from Almora. Having had personal experience of the approach to Naini Tal, the Lieutenant-Governor, in 1855, ordered the Kaladunghi Road to be widened to 12 feet along its whole

length. This cost Rs.8400, and was completed by June, 1856. The Assistant-Commissioner, in reporting its completion, stated that its slope "nowhere exceeds 10 feet per 100, but . . . for the most part is much less."

With the growth of the settlement the question of policing it arose. For the first few years Captain Ramsay lent a police *jammadar* and three constables from the Terai force during the season. In 1849 he asked Government to sanction the construction of a small *thana* (police-station); sanction was, however, refused. In 1851 Mr. Batten, the Commissioner, asked Government for authority to build a small *cutcherry* (court-house) and thana, because of the rapidly-growing population. He pointed out that the tentage allowance already drawn by Assistant Commissioners on duty at Naini Tal was sufficient to cover the cost of the "erection of a handsome range of public buildings." Nevertheless, Government persisted in declining to sanction the construction of a thana, but agreed to advance to the municipality as a loan Rs.500 for the building thereof, and said they would be willing to pay half the cost of building a cutcherry. The local community naturally did not see the force of paying for a thana and half the cost of a court-house, so the matter remained in abeyance. In 1854 part of Newberry Lodge was rented by Government at Rs.400 for the season as a court-house and place of residence for the Assistant Commissioner, but proposals to purchase either "Landslip House," "Ouseley Grove," or "Longview" as a court-house were negatived. The following year, however, the estate known as the "Victoria Hotel" was bought from Moti Ram Sah for

Rs.4000 as a cutcherry, for the Junior Assistant Commissioner.

The Government records do not contain much about the social history of the Naini Tal Settlement. From them, however, we learn that in October, 1849, a duel was fought with pistols between Ensigns Moller and Clarke, in which the latter was wounded. The duel arose out of a fracas at a ball, in which blows were exchanged by the parties. The seconds were Lieutenant Chambers and Ensign Thomas. Captain Ramsay handed the combatants over to Colonel Huish, the senior military officer in the station, who appears to have contented himself with reporting the incident to the Major-General commanding the Meerut Division. As the latter officer took no action in the matter, Mr. Batten, the Commissioner, wrote to him, saying that if the military authorities did not punish the offenders, the civil powers would do so. The General stated that he had brought the matter to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier. The records do not state what happened after that.

In 1850, Mr. P. W. B. Dorrett applied for the "piece of land known as Rajpore," on which to build a billiard-room and library.

We learn that in 1851 Mr. Pidcock, the Commissioner of the Bareilly Division, was fined 8 annas for having his horse exercised on the public road before 9 a.m., an offence against local by-laws. Mr. Pidcock addressed the Assistant Commissioner who had fined him, Mr. Horne, pleading ignorance of the law. The latter, doubtless glad of an opportunity to have a "dig" at a superior officer, wrote to the Commissioner of Kumaun,

saying that in his humble opinion even a commissioner could not be excused on a plea of ignorance of the law; a proposition to which the Commissioner of Kumaun assented.

In the early days of the settlement there was a bathing-place and a *dhobi ghat* (place for washing clothes) on the lake, neither of which can have contributed to the beauty of Naini Tal; but in some respects things were better than they now are: for example, cricket was played on grass instead of the present *bajri* (gravel). Peace and goodwill did not always prevail among the cricketing community. In 1854 there were two rival cricket clubs, and, as the ground was not sufficiently large to accommodate simultaneously two sets of elevens, disputes arose, which were referred to the Commissioner. The original cricket club maintained that the ground had been made over to it for the season, while club number two asserted that the ground was public and free to all residents. The Commissioner took the latter view. "The cricket ground," he ruled, "forms part of the lawn, which has from the first been reserved for public use, and the enclosure of which has from the first been prohibited . . . the original clearing of the lawn was made by the late Commissioner and myself from the funds supplied by Messrs. Smith, Barron, and others for the good of the sanitarium . . . up to the present time the public funds have been expended (not very sparingly) in preserving the lawn, and especially the cricket ground, from the injuries caused by the hill torrents and bazaar drains, etc. It is undeniably true that nearly every year there has been a body of gentlemen enrolled as members of the Naini Tal Cricket Club, who have from time to time subscribed sums for the

proper keeping and watering of the cricket ground, but their total subscriptions have been small in comparison with the expenditure of public money on the whole lawn. Captain Jones took great pains one year in laying down doob grass and manuring and fencing the ground."

Accordingly, the Commissioner allotted a time during which each club was to have possession of the lawn, and directed the members of the junior club to pay a donation towards the improvement of the ground.

XXI

MACKINTOSH AND MACAULAY IN INDIA

MEN, like trees, do not take kindly to transplantation, except when they are young. This fact, doubtless, explains why so few of the men who came to India comparatively late in life have made their mark in the country or have allowed it to make its mark on them.

The judges of the Supreme Courts of the various Presidencies prove this assertion. Some of them were men of considerable ability, yet only Sir William Jones has an Indian reputation.

Perhaps James Mackintosh and Thomas Babbington Macaulay were the two most able of the men who came to India in their prime: both seemed to assume mental blinkers the moment they set foot in the country, and to wear them throughout their sojourn; in consequence neither profited, except pecuniarily, by their experience. There are several points of similarity between the careers of these two men. Both were lawyers, able historians and politicians; both detested India and Anglo-Indians; both, while in India, tried to forget they were there; both seemed completely indifferent to the many interesting features of their Oriental environment.

Mackintosh was born in 1765, and educated for the medical profession, but failed to practise and was called

to the Bar. In 1803, he accepted the post of Recorder of Bombay, in succession to Sir William Syer. Mackintosh came to India, not because he felt the call of the East, but in the hope of being able by economy to save sufficient money to make him independent and master of his time.

He was very disappointed with Bombay and its society, and wrote peevishly to his friends about his existence in India. To one he writes from Bombay: "I almost defy your ingenuity and vivacity to extract an amusing letter about this place. There is a languor and lethargy among the society here to which I never saw elsewhere any approach."

To another he complains: "Dinner is never before seven, and seldom to a less party than thirty, arranged by strict etiquette. . . . I need say little of such evenings: they are not *noctes caenaeque Deum* . . . they are not equal even to booksellers' parties."

If Mackintosh did not like Bombay society, the fault was largely his. It may be admitted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century society in India was not at its best. Many of the Company's servants were still of the trading class, who, having come out as chapmen, found it difficult to change their habits to those of administrators. Nevertheless, Bombay, in Mackintosh's time, contained many men who have made a name in the world of letters. Mention may be made of Mountstuart, Elphinstone, Jonathan Duncan, Moor, Price, Boden, Malcolm, and Wilks.

The fact is that Mackintosh either would not or could not adapt himself to his Indian environment, and was in consequence like a fish out of water.

It might reasonably have been expected that his transplantation would have stimulated him. India offered a vast tract, almost unexplored, but Mackintosh failed to exploit it. India presented many vineyards in which he might have worked: those of ethnology, folk-lore, language, indigenous systems of law, botany, zoology, meteorology. Instead of obtaining produce from these, he, for the main part, confined himself to desultory reading of European literature.

He appears, it is true, to have made an attempt to accomplish something in Oriental fields. He founded a literary society at Bombay in 1805, and, shortly after its institution, formulated a plan for compiling a comprehensive vocabulary of Indian languages, founded on the Comprehensive Dictionary of the Empress Catherine. This plan was explained at a meeting of the Literary Society held on May 25th, 1806, and copies were circulated to the three Indian governments, with a list of words to which local officers were requested to add the corresponding terms in every jargon, dialect, or language within their districts. A few returns were made; but Mackintosh, who had promised to compile the Dictionary, contented himself with handing on the lists to Dr. Leyden.

This abortive attempt of Mackintosh to do some work in the field of Oriental literature bears out the adage, "It is impossible to teach an old dog new tricks." Mackintosh enjoyed a vast amount of leisure in India, and he spent practically the whole of it in reading occidental works. He perused dozens of Italian, French, and German books, and everything in English which came his way: works on philosophy, theology, history, *belles lettres*, all

the current reviews, and even old parliamentary debates and contemporary novels and poetry.

Hence the acquisition of money was all he had to show for his stay in India.

Against this acquisition of wealth there should, perhaps, be set lazy habits acquired while at Bombay. Notwithstanding his ability and his vast amount of reading, Mackintosh produced very little. A few contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, an article for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a slender *History of England*, and one of the Revolution of 1688 constitute the main literary works of a lifetime, and Mackintosh's knowledge of India did not enter into any of these writings. Indeed, Mackintosh openly expressed his opinion that India was of small use to England. So little interest did he take in that country that he refused the appointment of Commissioner for Indian Affairs that was offered to him in 1812, shortly after his return from India. He, however, accepted the appointment eighteen years later.

In 1818 he was appointed Professor of Law and Politics in the Company's College at Haileybury. He held this post for six years, but would have resigned the appointment far earlier had he succeeded in his attempts to obtain a chair at Edinburgh University.

In 1819 Mackintosh was elected Member of the House of Commons for Knaresborough. Eight years later he was appointed a Privy Councillor. He remained a Member of Parliament until his death in 1832.

Mackintosh, as we have seen, did make one attempt to adapt himself to his Indian surroundings; not so Macaulay. The latter positively gloried in his aloofness from things Indian. His resolute determination to have

nothing to do with India during the three years at Calcutta are positively ludicrous. He seems to have regarded it as a virtue! Shortly after his arrival in Calcutta he writes: "I still retain . . . my power of forgetting what surrounds me, and of living with the past, the future, the distant, and the unreal. Books are becoming everything to me." In May, 1835, he writes: "My time is divided between public business and books. I mix with society as little as I can."

Being, for all practical purposes, in one long fit of the sulks, it is not surprising that Macaulay did not enjoy his existence in India. "I have no words," he writes to a friend, "to tell you how I pain for England, or how immensely bitter exile has been to me."

Since Macaulay spent the greater part of his time in India in reading, and confined his reading almost entirely to ancient Latin and Greek, it is not surprising that he found exile bitter; the wonder is that he survived it!

Listen to what he writes to his friend Ellis on December 30th, 1835: "I have cast up my reading account and brought it to the end of the year 1835. It includes December, 1834; for I came into my house and unpacked my books at the end of November, 1834. During the last thirteen months I have read Æschylus twice; Sophocles twice; Euripides once; Pindar twice; Callimachus, Appollonius Rhodius, Quintus Calaber, Theocritus twice; Herodotus, Thucydides, almost all Xenophon's works, almost all Plato, Aristotle's Politics, and a good deal of his Organon, besides dipping elsewhere in him; the whole of Plutarch's Lives, about half of Lucian, two or three books of Athenæus; Plautus twice; Terence twice; Lucretius twice; Catulus, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Silius

Italicus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Sallust, Cæsar, and, lastly, Cicero. I have, indeed, a little of Cicero left, but I shall finish him in a few days. I am now deep in Aristophanes and Lucian."

Macaulay's biographer, Sir George Trevelyan, Bart., adds: "That the enormous list of classical works recorded in the foregoing letter was not only read through, but read with care, is proved by the pencil marks, single, double, and treble, which meander down the margin of such passages as excited the admiration of the student, and by the remarks, literary, historical, and grammatical, with which the critic has interspersed every volume and sometimes every page. In the case of a favourite writer, Macaulay frequently corrects the errors of the press, even the punctuation, as minutely as if he were preparing the book for another edition."

As Macaulay's official duties do not appear to have been very arduous, and as he seems to have taken no exercise and gone but little into society, he was able to read from 5 to 9 a.m. and the whole evening. It is, therefore, not surprising that he found that classical authors were not sufficient to fill his leisure; accordingly he took to reading in the evening "a great deal of English, French, and Italian, and a little Spanish." Then he began to learn Portuguese! On July 28th, 1836, he writes: "I have picked up Portuguese enough to read Camoens with care, and I want no more."

Just before he left India, Macaulay took to reading the early Fathers and to learning German, to which study he gave himself up on the voyage to England.

Like Mackintosh, Macaulay appears to have derived no profit, other than monetary, from his stay in India.

He might have written his essays on Clive and Warren Hastings equally well had he never left England.

Mackintosh does not seem to have been generally disliked, although some considered him mean. Macaulay was very unpopular, especially with the members of the Press. He seems to have spoken slightingly of Indian newspapers, and treated some of them with contempt. This helps to explain the venomous outburst of the *Englishman* on January 13th, 1838: "Mr. T. B. Macaulay embarks this day for England. The announcement will excite no regret. Never did any public functionary, to whom duties of such importance were entrusted, quit the shores of India with so little notice of a valedictory or respectful nature. . . . It is but a very small circle that will lament his absence. What an instructive contrast does the public silence on this occasion present with that loud and universal peal of affection and applause that is about to burst forth on the lamented departure of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Mr. Macaulay arrived in this country, only three years ago, with every means within his reach of rendering himself an object of admiration. He leaves us, not amid sighs and tears, but, we had almost said, curses, not loud but deep."

So greatly did the Press dislike Macaulay that the newspapers could see nothing good in him. Even the admirable Indian Penal Code, for which he was largely responsible, was evil in their eyes. The *Bengal Herald* termed it "a miserable legislative abortion, which, before he reaches England, will be put upon a shelf and, like himself, be forgotten." A few years later the man who made this prediction must have felt rather small.

XXII

HOT WEATHER AMENITIES IN 1837

ON June 1st, 1837, Lieutenant J. Abbott, in charge of the Saheswan Revenue Survey, having spent several months in camp, returned to his bungalow at Begam Bagh, four miles from the cantonment of Bareilly. On the 11th June Abbott attended divine service, which was held in the Sessions bungalow, there being at that time no church in Bareilly. Had Abbott not been a church-goer the letters that follow would never have been written, and one more link in the chain of our knowledge of the manners of our forerunners in India would have been missing.

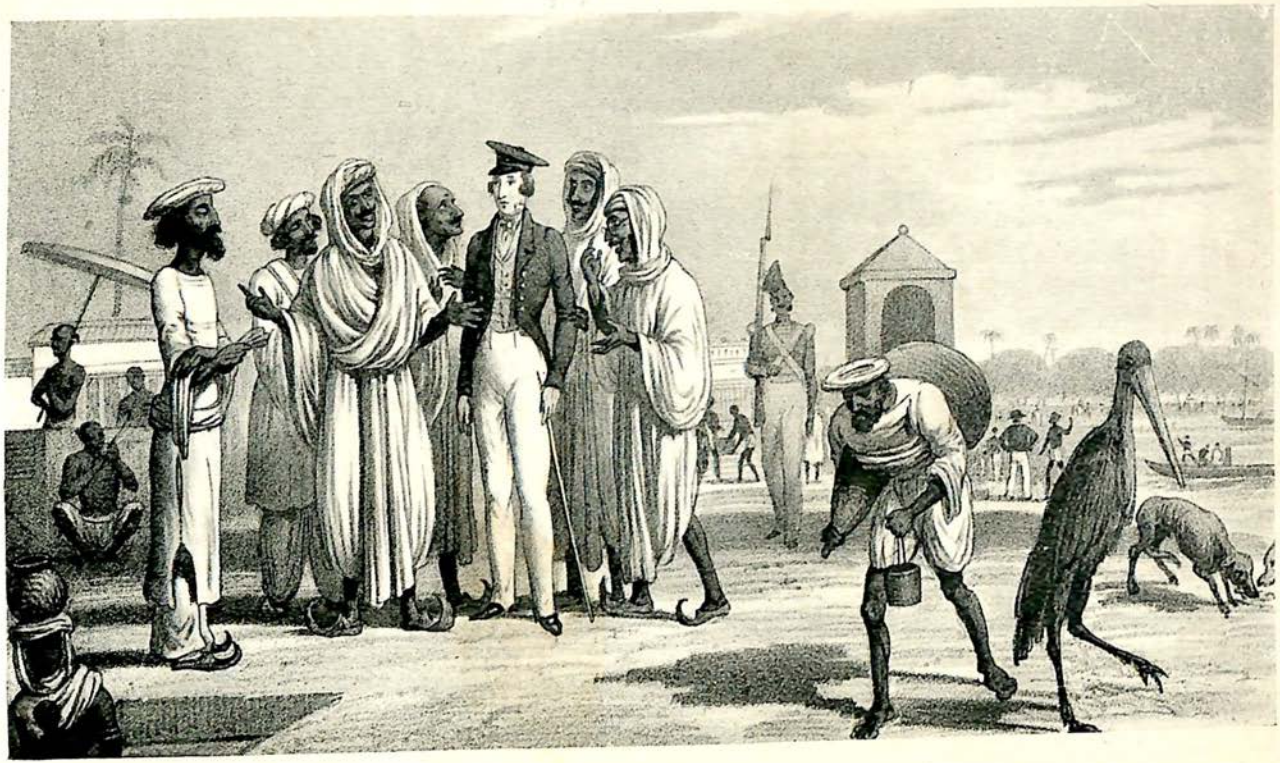
On the 13th June Abbott received the following from Captain Hay, Major of Brigade, Bareilly:

"Sir,—I am directed by the Brigadier to express his surprise at your having neither waited on the Commanding Officer nor reported to this office your return to the Cantonment of Bareilly. An explanation of the cause of such neglect you are requested to make, for it will be expedient perhaps to suggest to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that you be remanded to your battalion, there to be reminded of those habits of respect and subordination, which in your long absence from it you may have forgotten."

A GRIFFEN, ON LANDING AT CALCUTTA, BEING BESIEGED BY RUM JOHNNIES.

Notice the adjutant bird and the pariah dogs. Adjutants were formerly plentiful in Calcutta. They no longer visit that city; but pariah dogs are still abundant.

This illustration is from a picture drawn by Captain F. J. Bellew, illustrating his book entitled *Memoirs of a Griffen*, which, though published in 1843, described India as it was *circa* 1818.



Abbott replied on the same day as follows:

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 117 of this date, and to express my regret that the Brigadier commanding the station of Bareilly should have thought fit to visit with such severe reprehension the deferal of a tribute of respect which the extreme inclemency of the weather has alone prevented me from tendering and which I certainly never have regarded in the light in which it appears to be viewed by the Brigadier.

"2. I beg to observe that I have not returned to the cantonments, but have been living from the day of my arrival beyond the bounds subject to the Brigadier's authority, and, although I shall certainly not take upon me to disregard the slightest wish of an officer so high in rank as the Brigadier, I beg to add my protest against the idea that I am placed under military authority in the civil employ to which it has pleased Government to appoint me. I have but to add my hope that my former punctuality in all respectful observances to the Brigadier commanding the station will guarantee my assurance that no failure of respect was contemplated in the present instance."

On the following day Abbott waited on Brigadier-General Tooms, and expressed his regret at having appeared to be failing in respect; at the same time he informed him that the channel of the Brigadier's wishes should be the Civil Authorities under whom Abbott had been placed. The worthy Brigadier did not agree, and informed Abbott that on emergency he had the right to demand his services through his Station Staff. Abbott

held to his view, with the result that shortly after his return to his bungalow he received the following from the Brigade Major:

"I am directed to observe, in reply to your letter of yesterday, that from the moment you entered into the Bareilly district you ought to have reported the circumstances for the Brigadier's information, every military officer within Rohilcund, no matter how employed, being subject to his control.

"At this inclement season the Brigadier would not have expected a call from you; but, having seen you at the Station church or building appropriated to divine service, he is of opinion that you failed in a mark of respect, not only due to every Commanding Officer, but prescribed by the rules of the Service; and that by not reporting your return to Bareilly, either in person or by letter, you have disobeyed the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. A half-monthly return of all military officers arriving at, or departing from, the station is sent to headquarters; and when an officer appears at the Station church it is obvious that such an officer falls within the category of those meant to be reported. I have now to call your attention to the General Orders of 30th December, 1834, and request that you will conform to them during your sojourn at Bareilly. When you resume your survey in the country you will, of course, have the opportunity of resuming the beard also, if you please. Officers of Local Horse are alone permitted to wear hair on the chin and face."

To this Abbott rejoined: "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 119 of yester-

day's date. In reply I beg leave most respectfully to submit to the Brigadier Commanding at Bareilly that having been placed by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief under the orders of the Right Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, I cannot with proper respect for the authorities under whom I immediately serve receive orders in so irregular a channel as the Station Staff of Bareilly, orders that may on some subsequent occasion be directly at variance with the instruction of the Suddur Board of Revenue. I beg, in conclusion, to remind the Brigadier Commanding at Bareilly that I did duly report my arrival in his district in February, 1836, which district I have not since quitted—also that the church is held in the Civil Lines of Bareilly. The inattention complained of I have already explained in my letter of the 13th instant, and during my personal interview with the Brigadier repeatedly declared to have been most unintentional and to be the subject of my regrets."

Receiving no reply for several days Abbott asked the Commissioner to forward copies of the correspondence to the Lieutenant-Governor, but the Commissioner discreetly refused to be dragged into a dispute with the military authorities. On Sunday, the 9th July, Abbott attended church, wearing the obnoxious beard. This drew forth the following letter from the Brigade Major on Monday :

"Sir,—As you have not complied with orders of the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 30th December, 1834, although requested to do so in my letter of the 14th ultimo, the Brigadier hereby prohibits your attendance either at church or at any public place of assembly

until you shall have removed the long hair from your face and chin and conformed to the Rules and Regulations of the Service."

On the same day Abbott replied :

"Sir,—I beg with much respect to refer the Brigadier Commanding at Bareilly to my letter No. 66 of the 16th ultimo for a final answer to all requisitions made through so irregular a channel as the Station Staff at Bareilly. Any instructions of the Brigadier communicated to me through the authorized channel I shall ever be most happy to attend to, and if, pending a reference to higher authority, I for the present comply with the Brigadier's prohibition to attend public assemblies, I beg it may be regarded as a proof of my deep respect for his rank and station and not as an acknowledgment of the legality of such orders."

Abbott then forwarded copies of the correspondence to Captain Bedford, Deputy Surveyor-General at Allahabad, with the request that they be submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor. In forwarding the correspondence Abbott remarked that he had worn the offending beard for the past sixteen months without even the hint of an objection, and that his predecessor, who lived in cantonments, had adopted the same fashion during several years' residence at Bareilly.

In Captain Bedford's inward letter book, which contains Abbott's letters with enclosures, there is one, dated the 3rd September, 1837, acknowledging receipt of one from Bedford, dated the 26th August, giving cover to the Right Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor's reply to

his representation. Unfortunately the book containing copies of Bedford's outward letters is missing, and all the old U.P. Secretariat records perished many years ago in a fire. We have, therefore, no means of knowing what were the views of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir C. T. Metcalfe, Bart. As Abbott's letter contains no expression of thanks we can but surmise that henceforth he had either to apply the razor or refrain from attending public assemblies until he again went out into the country.

XXIII

CALCUTTA IN 1840

THE sailing-ship anchors off Chandpal Ghat after a voyage of four months from the Downs, and the weary traveller, delighted to be at his journey's end, looks eagerly at the city in which he expects to reside for many years. Before him stretches the *maidan* (common), disfigured by the jail. In front it is bounded by the lofty houses of Chowringhee, on the right by the Fort, and on the left by Government House, the Town Hall, and the Supreme Court. As the ship takes time to reach her moorings, the voyager has leisure to look at the shipping which throngs the muddy Hughli. There are one crack ship of one thousand tons, several second-class vessels, a swift opium clipper, some budgerows (house-boats), and numerous steamers, skiffs, and other river craft. The steamers, with the exception of one that runs to Rangoon, are dingy tugs, used to convey sailing vessels to and from Diamond Harbour, and accommodation flats between Calcutta and Allahabad. Accommodation flats are floating hotels, more comfortable than elegant. "Imagine," says a contemporary writer, "you see a long, narrow, light green-painted chest, pierced on each side, close below the lid, with as many square openings of a certain size as there can be; fix a low rail on the edge of the lid, place in the

same line and at equal distances a dozen wooden pins, attach to the tops of these pins a piece of white cotton cloth the size of the lid for an awning, and you have a pretty correct model of a Ganges accommodation boat or flat."

At length the traveller finds himself ashore, where he is in peril of being torn to pieces by a mob of palanquin-bearers. If he be wise he scrambles with all possible speed into the nearest palanquin. In so doing he runs the risk of barking shins, knuckles, and knees, for to enter a palanquin is by no means an easy matter, but it is better to sustain such slight injuries than to have one's clothes torn off one's back.

Our new arrival has introductions to several residents of Calcutta, but the days of promiscuous hospitality have passed away. Lord William Bentinck—the "Clipping Dutchman," and the failures of the large firms with which hundreds of Europeans had deposited their savings have led to retrenchment all round. The traveller, therefore, having tumbled into a palanquin, as primed by a fellow-voyager, shouts, "Barra potch khana," which is the name by which all the bearers know Spence's Hotel. Out of the ruins of former hospitality three hotels have sprung up in Calcutta—Spence's, Benton's, and Bodry's. Of these the first is certainly the best. It is managed by the proprietor, John Spence, who may fairly be said to have originated hotels in Bengal. For the sum of Rs.6 *per diem*, Rs.40 a week, or Rs.100 *per mensem*, he feeds and houses his guests comfortably.

Having refreshed the inner man, the new arrival sets forth on a tour of exploration. The sun-helmet, or *sola topi*, has not yet been invented; the European must,

therefore, remain indoors while the sun is high or go forth either in a conveyance or armed with a large umbrella. Our traveller, as a result of the cramped existence on board ship, chooses the last alternative.

A few steps bring him to Tank Square or Lal Diggi. On the north side are Writers' Building and St. Andrew's Kirk; on the south are the Exchange and some large mercantile houses; on the west are the Union Bank and the Custom House; on the east the Bengal Club House and Moore, Hickey, and Co.'s auction rooms. The last named firm is at the zenith of its prosperity. It is a Calcutta Whiteley's and Tattersall's combined. It auctions anything and everything. The commission charged is 8 per cent on produce and imports and 5 per cent on household and landed property. The part of the premises that abuts on Tank Square is a covered yard for the sale of horses and carriages. Once a week there is an auction of these. On the west side of Mission Row are the common sale rooms, indigo sale rooms, clerks' rooms, and show rooms. Having inspected Tank Square, the new arrival retraces his steps along Old Court House Street, which boasts of four jewellers' shops, including Hamilton's, also the hall of the Calcutta Trade Association.

He next investigates Chowringhee, which is some two miles long and one broad. This and Garden Reach are the localities in which the better class Europeans reside. The fine houses in these quarters have caused Calcutta to be called the City of Palaces; but the whole appearance of Chowringhee is spoiled by the filthy huts that exist everywhere, almost touching the "palaces." These eyesores are to be seen even in the ultra-fashionable Park

Street and Middleton Street, and on the *maidan* in front of Chowringhee.

The chief public buildings in this quarter are the Bishop's Palace, La Martiniere School, which was opened in 1835, and the theatre. The last has no architectural beauty. A writer sarcastically remarks that the only thing in which the Calcutta theatre excels is in the price of seats—Rs.6 for front seats in the gallery, Rs.4 for back ones, and Rs.3 for those in the pit. At the present moment it is doing well, thanks to Stocqueler, the energetic and popular editor of the *Englishman*, who places his pen, voice, and limbs at its disposal.

Having surveyed Chowringhee the visitor walks along Cossitollah—the street that holds a large proportion of the European shops. Cossitollah has been described as the Indian Elysium of plebeians, Garden Reach being the Arcadia of patricians. In Cossitollah are Macfarlane and Watts and Monteith, bootmakers; Lazarus and Currie and Shearwood, cabinet-makers. The display in this narrow, crooked thoroughfare of the signboards of no fewer than three undertakers affords eloquent testimony to the unhealthiness of the city. Five of the nine European tailors have their premises in Cossitollah; but its chief attractions are three confectioners' shops, those of Payne, Ahmuty, and Wilson. The owner of the last is popularly known as "Dainty Davie." "European visitors seek him, not he them; his good things are enough to give celebrity to any street in Calcutta: as Spence of the family hotel is, so is he; one of the few men that Europeans in the metropolis cannot do without. Visit the rooms of this confectioner at tiffen, count the palanquins, *garis* (carriages), and buggies that set down

sahibs at his door between noon and two o'clock every day (Sundays not being exceptions), and if you are a European stranger you will be astonished."

Having returned and partaken of tiffen, the new-comer, before indulging in an afternoon nap, looks at the literature provided by the hotel. To his surprise he sees, on the table, quite an array of local newspapers. There are four dailies—the *Englishman*, edited by J. C. Stocqueler; the *Hurkaru*, owned and edited by Samuel Smith, bookseller; the *Courier*, edited by Frederick Osborne, barrister; and the *Commercial Advertiser and Daily News*, edited by an East Indian. Then there are the *India Gazette*, which appears thrice; and the *Calcutta Gazette*, which comes out twice a week. Lastly, there are three weekly papers—the *Oriental Observer*, the *Herald*, and the *Friend of India*. The last, which is the most literary of the newspapers, is published at Serampore, and is edited by J. C. Marshman, son of the celebrated Baptist missionary. It is only five years since the Press was freed from the surveillance of the Government of India to the alarm of the Court of Directors. A contemporary writer likens Calcutta editors to a pack of "schoolboys unexpectedly sent to the fields to play by a hard master; these juveniles are then giddy and noisy, and are, as a matter of course, sparring at and knocking one another about in the joyous wantonness of youthful liberty; but having, notwithstanding, an accurate recollection of the floggings, the double lessons, the keepings in, and the over-shoulder marks of yesterday, they have, therefore, still their fears that the least mention of their master as being somewhat of a despot would again bring them very soon into trouble, and hence they are continually

on their guard. It is certainly much safer for these editors to call one another 'old women' than to write unfavourably of their master when they are at liberty."

As, except for a few days after the arrival of the monthly English mail, news is generally scarce, and, as readers prefer a column or two of qualified Billingsgate to blank pages, the editors belabour one another without mercy, and, everywhere, "from the great guns of the *Hurkaru* and the *Englishman* to the little swivel of the *Gyananneshun*," there is war. As is almost invariably the case, the newly arrived Englishman finds the Indian newspapers dull, and our visitor soon turns from them to the *Calcutta Almanack*, from which he learns the following facts about the City of Palaces. It has three scientific societies—the Asiatic, the Agricultural and Horticultural, and the Medical; six colleges—Fort William, the Bishop's, the Hindu, the Sanscrit, the Madrissa, and the Medical; thirty-two boys' and girls' English schools; sixteen churches—five Episcopalian, four Roman Catholic, three Baptist, one Presbyterian, one Independent, one Greek, and one Armenian; four hospitals and a leper asylum; seventeen insurance companies, two banks, three lithographic and twelve typographical presses, and nine Masonic lodges. The European and Eurasian tradesmen include seven bookbinders, eight shipbuilders, five cabinet-makers, eight coach-builders, ten house-builders, two brass-and-iron founders, six carvers and gilders, three gunmakers, six watchmakers, eight chemists, five milliners, four jewellers, nine tailors, eight livery stable-keepers, three hairdressers, five musical warehouses, four musical instrument-makers, three hotel-keepers, seven boarding house-keepers, and nineteen wine merchants.

The non-official professional element consists of three surgeon apothecaries, two dentists, three veterinary surgeons, and three portrait painters. Lord Auckland is the Governor-General; but, since the delights of Simla have been discovered, Calcutta does not see much of the Governor-General.

Just before sunset the new arrival repairs to the Strand, where all Calcutta "eats the air" every evening. He is greatly disappointed in what he sees, having heard much of the splendour of the equipages. Of conveyances there is no lack. They are present in their hundreds, but of the quality not much can be said. Nine out of ten of them require repainting; many of the horses are sorry-looking creatures. To the new arrival the most striking features of the concourse are the *bhistis* (water-carriers), watering the road from their *massaks* (skin water-bags), and the palki carriages; of the latter there is an endless and most perplexing accumulation from the tiny office jaun into which a man can with difficulty squeeze himself, to the great square palanquin carriage that accommodates four people with ease. A few of the *palkigaris* are drawn by decent-looking horses; to most of them are harnessed angular little *tats* (Indian ponies), while some are dragged by bullocks. Then there are the Indian *bailis* (bullock carriages), the inmates of which are hidden by red curtains. These are drawn by bullocks having bells, the jingle jingle of which mingles with the noise of horses' hoofs and wheels. The European carriages consist of barouches, landaus, landaulets, buggies, dog-carts, stanhopes, gigs, cabs, cabriolets, and phaetons. These are of every age and build. Running side by side are to be seen two landaulets, one high and

crane-necked which must have been designed before 1806, and the other a low vehicle which cannot have left the London carriage-builder's more than a year previously. Before the visitor has had time to examine half the carriages and their pale and tired occupants, the shades of night have fallen. Then the Strand becomes deserted, and the new-comer makes his way back to Spence's.

XXIV

HOME BY P. AND O. SIXTY YEARS AGO

IT may interest those who have recently suffered a journey on a crowded ship, or who are dreading the prospect of one in the near future, to read of the discomforts of those who travelled home by "overland mail" some sixty years ago, when there was a great rush for passages as the result of the Mutiny in 1857, when leave was closed. Moreover, since Mrs. Leopold Paget, the sufferer of sixty years ago, writes forcefully, her account may be of interest even to those who do not contemplate the voyage.

Mrs. Paget, while in India, kept a diary which she wrote up every few days, and which was published in 1865 under the title *Camp and Cantonment.* She left Bombay on the 5th June, 1859, by the P. and O. mail steamer *Bombay.* That vessel was designed to carry 65 passengers, but, owing to the great demand for berths, 78 travellers were crowded into her.

Major and Mrs. Paget and the baby were given a small three-berth cabin, but the Eurasian who accompanied them as a nurse had no place allotted to her; she had to lie down "anywhere."

In the steamers of those days the passengers' cabins mostly opened into the saloon: this last obtained light and air by means of a skylight.

On leaving the harbour the vessel encountered a strong monsoon, and as paddle steamers were not able to make much headway against it, the *Bombay* took a semicircular course, first running south along the Indian coast and finally steaming north, hugging the African shore.

The journey from Bombay to Aden occupied 13 days. As all the port-holes had to be kept closed the whole time and the saloon skylight whenever it was raining, it may be imagined that the atmosphere of the cabins and saloon was not pleasant, but Mrs. Paget leaves little to the imagination. She belongs to the realistic school. She tells us that she was nearly killed by "the heat and smell of 70 or 80 people battened down in tiny cabins, all opening on one common saloon where eating went on incessantly," to say nothing of the fumes from the engine-room, galley and slaughter-house, both of which latter were on the lower deck.

To sleep on deck was impossible on account of the rain and the seas shipped, and so bad was the atmosphere of the cabins that people were compelled to pass the night in the saloon. "Oh! the horrors of that dreadful saloon," writes Mrs. Paget, "with people of all kinds, gentlemen and ladies, stewards, native servants and children, all huddled together, on the floor, on the table, on the benches, amid the reeking odours of brandy and water, and stale fruit and meat. All the ladies and many of the gentlemen (who were visible at all) used to make the stewards bring their food on deck, and it was amusing enough to watch the erratic progress of a plate of soup, or a cup of tea during the lively motions of the ship. The food was horrid, dirty and ill-cooked; and of the

interior economy of the ship, and of the crossness and incivility of the stewardess, it is impossible to speak in terms of praise. The children were insufficiently as well as badly fed, and it was not allowed to one's servants to prepare their food; and there being no second saloon, during meal times the poor little things were turned out to sit in the doorways, or on the stairs, or in any odd corner. We had a store of sheep and cows on board, but they daily died from the violence of the weather, or were killed *to save their lives,* and the carcases used to hang at the doors of the cabins in the fore part of the ship, the possessors whereof had to make their way through the hay and straw and dirt of all descriptions to reach their doors. In this part of the ship there was always a great deal of water, and everything was wet."

Although there was no second saloon, there were three or four second-class passengers " who lived no one knew where in the recesses of the unwholesome dens below."

Mrs. Paget's descriptions of some of the first-class passengers afford amusing reading, and the amusement is heightened by the fact that her book was published within six years of the voyage. The name of the vessel and the date of sailing are clearly set forth, hence those of the passengers who read the book must have recognized the individuals described.

" A young lady of most objectionable manners and unwholesome complexion, having failed in *la chasse aux maris* in India, made desperate efforts to ensnare each guileless subaltern whom she could get to listen to her never-ceasing chatter and discordant laugh, which might be heard at all hours of the day or night all over the ship. She occupied a berth in the ladies' cabin, and must have

led the other occupiers a terrible time of it, one of whom was a miserable old Frenchwoman, who thought it her duty to lie in bed inhaling chloroform and praying to the Virgin. The rest of the ladies, with few exceptions, were either given to hysterics or to dropping their H's or their shoestrings."

Mrs. Paget is scarcely more charitable to the opposite sex. Writes she: "The genus *Gent* was represented by a most offensive specimen, who, having been turned out of the Indian Army for drunkenness, was now about to try his fortune in an Australian bank. This animal drew caricatures, and in his own estimation was a prodigy of cleverness. The first two evenings, warmed by copious potations, he came and sat down near us, swearing eternal friendship, and inviting us, in the name of his father, to reside for a lengthy period at that respectable individual's country house, but, finding his overtures were not received with a corresponding gush of enthusiasm, he afterwards confined his attentions to the baby, who, I am sorry to say, evinced a taste for low company by rather patronizing him."

It is not often our fortune to come across vignettes such as the above. The troubles of their amiable designer were by no means over when Aden was reached. At that delectable port the *Bombay* took on board a goodly number of passengers of the *Alma*, the Calcutta homeward-bound mail steamer which had been wrecked shortly after leaving Aden, five days before the arrival of the *Bombay*. The shipwrecked passengers took refuge on the rock that had been the undoing of the *Alma*. After remaining there for three days with only biscuits and beer for their support—no water except what could

be got from a few lumps of ice—these unfortunate people were picked up and taken back to Aden by H.M.S. *Cyclops*.

They were advised to wait for the Australian mail (which was due in two days) on which they were told they would have every chance of good accommodation, but 101 out of the 150 passengers were not for waiting, and, to use Mrs. Paget's expression, literally *boarded* the *Bombay*. After their arrival, the latter vessel must have presented much the appearance of the room in a tenement of the East End of London, which was rented by five families—one family occupied each corner and the fifth took possession of the middle. When a member of one of the corner families was asked whether he was comfortable, he replied, "We were all right until the family in the middle began to take in lodgers." But let us quote Mrs. Paget: "By nine o'clock the whole (deck) was thickly covered with mattresses and sheets in which persons of all ages and sexes enveloped themselves for the night, so that to go below one had to pick one's way over a confused mass of arms and legs at the immediate risk of treading on someone's nose; while in the saloon, even before the lights were put out, the table was converted into a Great Bed of Ware for more ladies and gentlemen."

Needless to state, the newcomers strained to the uttermost the commissariat of the *Bombay*. "The eating and drinking," writes Mrs. Paget, "is now, of course, worse than ever. *Thirteen* meals a day succeed each other with wonderful rapidity. We are fed like hounds, and with food so coarse, it would not be given to well nurtured dogs at home."

Fortunately, the Red Sea was comparatively cool.

"The three doctors," writes Mrs. P., "on board all say that the mercy of Providence alone has, by giving us head winds, which have kept up a certain degree of ventilation, saved us from the calamity of an epidemic consequent on overcrowding and heat. We are actually more in number in comparison with the size of the ship than there were on board the steamer last year which conveyed soldiers' wives up the Indus when nearly all the passengers died of foul air."

So history repeats itself. Even to casualties during a journey through Sind.

The *Bombay* reached Suez on the 26th June, twenty-one days after leaving Bombay. Since the opening of the overland route to India, there have been four stages in the development of the journey between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez. In the first stage the passenger went from Alexandria to Cairo by boat, and from there crossed the desert to Suez in a donkey chair. In this conveyance the passenger sat in a chair lashed between two long poles which formed shafts, between which two donkeys were harnessed, one in front of the passenger and one behind. In the second stage the donkey chair was replaced by the horse-drawn springless van. In the third stage passengers were taken from Alexandria to Suez by railway train via Cairo. In the fourth the vessel traverses the Suez Canal.

In 1859 the Canal had not been constructed but the railway was in existence. Accordingly the Pagets went by train. They were landed at Suez from the *Bombay* in a steam tender and went to the large hotel belonging to the P. and O. for tiffin. The Pasha had reserved all the rooms in the hotel. In consequence, the passengers

from the *Bombay* had to sit on their boxes in the courtyard until the time came for them to go to the station. The train journey to Cairo occupied five hours. At Cairo the Pagets put up at Williams's Indian Family Hotel, which, "prepared and furnished like a French house, is very clean and quiet, and only professes to accommodate those who come to remain for a few days."

After a stay of five days at Cairo, they proceeded to Alexandria by train. "On arriving we were nearly torn to pieces by touters from the rival hotels, and eventually were carried off to the wrong one, where we had to compromise matters by partaking of a bad dinner, after which our things were removed to Abbott's, where rooms had been already engaged for us." On the 2nd July they left Alexandria by the P. and O. packet *Indus*, on which they secured an airy poop cabin. The *Indus*, writes Mrs. Paget, "is a fine, roomy vessel and though very full we are not at all crowded. . . . There is a piano on board, and a band which plays every evening and tempts some of those who have been fellow-passengers from China and India to dance." After stopping a few hours at both Valetta and Gibraltar the *Indus* reached Southampton on the 16th July.

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